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SCHOOL OF IRISH LEARNING  
*DEVOTED TO IRISH PHILOLOGY AND  
LITERATURE*

VOL. XXV

EDITED BY  
DAVID GREENE AND PROINSIAS MAC CANA



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# CAITHRÉIM CHELLACHÁIN CHAISIL: HISTORY OR PROPAGANDA?

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## *The edition and the manuscripts*

The historical romance, *Caithréim Chellacháin Chaisil* (CCC), was edited almost seventy years ago with introduction, notes, and indexes by the Norwegian scholar, Alexander Bugge.<sup>1</sup> The original does not survive nor is there a twelfth-century copy; Bugge based his edition on the earliest available manuscript version, that contained in the Book of Lismore fo. 106 R a 1-115 R b 15 (facsimile edition: 148 R a 1-157 R b 19)<sup>2</sup>. The Lismore text of the tale is imperfect; it breaks off abruptly in the middle of col. b *recto* whilst scribing a battle between the Leinstermen and the Munstermen led by Cellachán and the *verso* was originally left blank in the manuscript—clear evidence that either the scribe's exemplar was defective or that he intended completing his transcript at some other time.<sup>3</sup> The Book of Lismore, it appears, was prepared for Fíngínn Mac Carthaigh Riabhach and for his wife Caitlín, most probably between the years 1478 and 1506<sup>4</sup> and though the text of CCC contained in it is the earliest it is neither full nor free of scribal editing. As Bugge points out, the transcriber omits many of the poems found in the later manuscript versions though it is clear that his exemplar contained some

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Bugge, 1905, *Caithréim Cellacháin Chaisil: the victorious career of Cellachán of Cashel* (Christiania [Oslo]: Gundersens Bogtrykkeri for Det norske historiske Selskabs Skriftfond). The title of the tale as Bugge points out (p. vi) was first given it by Eugene O'Curry in his transcript of the text. It has no title in the earliest copy, that in the Book of Lismore. A variety of titles occurs in the late manuscript tradition in which the tale is normally divided into two parts entitled respectively 'Cathughadh Chellacháin re Lochlannuibh' and 'Toruigheacht na tTaoiseach air Cheallacháin' (e.g. A 24 P 6, 23 K 37, 23 B 21, E v 1, 24 C 9 etc.).

<sup>2</sup> For a description of this codex and an account of its history, see Eugene O'Curry, 1881, *Lectures on the MS materials of ancient Irish history* (Dublin: Hinch and Traynor) 1-200; Whitley Stokes, 1890, *Lives of the saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) v-xliv; R. A. S. Macalister ed, 1950, *The Book of Mac Carthaigh Riabhach otherwise the Book of Lismore* (Dublin: Ir. Mss Comm.) i-xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> The blank space on the *recto* remains unfilled; that on the *verso* now bears a poem to Cellachán by the nineteenth-century Cork scribe, Donnchadh Ó Floinn.

<sup>4</sup> S. Ó Catháin, 1933, 'A superior limit to the compilation of the Book of Lismore', *Irish Manuscript Commission* 19: 43-7.

of these poems.<sup>5</sup> One can scarcely blame him or fault his taste. The poems are in general a dismal and wearisome repetition of material already presented in a marginally more attractive prose version.

Bugge knew and made use of a number of paper manuscripts to supplement his edition of the Lismore text: (i) 23 H 18 (707), wrongly cited *passim* as 23 H. I. a., written by Uilliam Cairteáin, 1701-2; (ii) 23 G 20 (211), written by Micheál Ó Longáin between 1786 and 1814 (the section containing CCC written before 1804); (iii) 23 M 47 (973), written by Seán Ó Cona in 1776; (iv) 23 K 43 (482), written by Séamus Ó Caoluidhe, 1789-90; (v) 23 B 21 (184), written by Micheál Óg Ó Longáin and Peataí Longáin in 1824; (vi) 23 K 46 (38), written by Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin in 1826;<sup>6</sup> and Egerton 106, written by Richard Tipper between 1715 and 1717.<sup>7</sup> From these copies and particularly from 23 H 18 Bugge supplied most but not all of the verse absent from the Book of Lismore. The end of the tale, missing from Lismore, is also supplied from 23 H 18. Bugge was aware of but did not use a fragmentary sixteenth-century (?) vellum text of CCC in the Advocates Library, Scotland.<sup>8</sup>

The story of Cellachán proved extremely popular certainly among the modern scribes and very many copies, representing a number of different versions, have survived. The following list of manuscripts containing the text makes no pretence at being complete but may serve to indicate the popularity of the tale.

RIA MSS (25): 23 K 7 (658), 1700-02; 23 H 18 (707), 1701-02; 23 K 37 (152), 1714-8; 24 B 28 (244), 1728; D iii 2 (619), 1728; 24 P 6 (94), 1768; 12 F 20 (897), 1773; 23 M 47c (973), 1776; 23 G 20 (211), 1786-1804; 23 K 43 (482), 1789-90; 23 H 28 (707), 18th cent.; 24 C 38 (1169), 18th cent.; 23 C 18 (493), 1795-1800; 24 L 21 (816), 1811-2; E v 1 (199), 1819-20; 23 B 21 (184), 1824; 23 K 46 (38), 1826; 24 C 4 (669), 1845; 24 C 19 (282), 1847 (1 copy); 23 D 46 (521), 1856-7; 24 C 28 (327) 1857; 24 C 18 (327) 19th cent. British Museum<sup>9</sup> (5): Egerton 106, 1715-7; Egerton 150, 1773-4; Additional 18946; Additional 31877, 1755; Additional 43788, 1819. Trinity College, Dublin<sup>10</sup> (2): H I 15 (1289), 1729-

<sup>5</sup> E. g. CCC 29: 7 *adubhairt in laidh Ocus ní fhuil isin laidh acht innisin in sceoil*. On other occasions (§§ 42, 44, 45, 50, 58, 75, 77, 78, 82) he merely cites the first line of the poem.

<sup>6</sup> *Cat. Ir. Mss in RIA* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy).

<sup>7</sup> O'Grady and Flower, 1926, *Catalogue of Irish Mss in the British Museum* (London: British Museum) 329.

<sup>8</sup> Advocates Library, MS VIII, Kilbride Collection 4 ff. 27, 36. For a singularly uninformative description of this MS, see Donald Mackinnon, 1912, *A descriptive catalogue of Gaelic manuscripts* (Edinburgh: William Brown) 112.

<sup>9</sup> O'Grady and Flower (1926) 217, 329, 395. *The British Museum: catalogue of additions to manuscripts, 1931-5* (London: British Museum) 228-9.

<sup>10</sup> Abbot and Gwynn, 1921, *Catalogue of Ir. Mss in Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis) 40-4; 50-60.



H 1 13 (1287). National Library of Ireland<sup>11</sup> (3): G 22, 1773; G 63 (Edward O'Reilly's transcript from the Book of Lismore); G 122, 19 cent. Maynooth<sup>12</sup> (5): M 17; M 55; C 107, 1779; M 67, 1818; R 70, 1825-48. Liverpool<sup>13</sup> (1) 12029 M, 1770-9. Stonyhurst College<sup>14</sup> (1): A II 20, 1701.

In many of these manuscripts<sup>15</sup> CCC forms one of a wider collection tales—*Cath Cnucha*, *Cath Maighe Léana*, *Cath Maighe Muccroimhe*, *th Crinna* and *Cath Cluana Tairbh*—linked together with annalistic material to form what Robin Flower calls 'a kind of Romantic history of Munster, A.D. 174-1138'.<sup>16</sup> According to Flower, these annals usually end with a notice of the death of the remarkable eleventh-century Munster king, Cormac Mac Carthaig. The whole is a compilation of Mac Carthaig interest and Flower traces its origin back to one Eoghan Mac Carthaigh whom he considers to have been the original compiler and who gives 1684 as the year of his death. However, it may well have existed previous to this date and, as we shall see, its connection with Cormac Mac Carthaig may not be without interest.

The inter-relationships of the later manuscripts, the distinction and dating of the different recensions and the construction of a stemma must await the labours of a competent editor. While one may pay tribute to Bugge's pioneering work it is only fair to note that the translation is unsatisfactory, the historical notes wildly inaccurate, the indexes incomplete, and his evaluation of the historicity of the text fatuous. Meanwhile, the printed text though quite unsatisfactory for the student of language seems to supply the minimum for what is proposed here: a critical analysis of the historical value of CCC and an attempt to date the text on historical grounds.

### *Comment on the text*

Bugge rejects the views of the older scholars, O'Curry and Donovan, who considered the tale to be semi-historical. Basing his judgment primarily on the information concerning the Vikings contained in the text he asserts that CCC could not be 'a fabrication of an Irish author of the 12th or 13th century' and while he would concede that some of Cellachán's victories are exaggerated he feels

<sup>11</sup> Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, 1967, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies) ii 13-8.

<sup>12</sup> Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, 1965-72, *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Cholaíste Phádraig Nuad* (Maynooth: Cuallacht Choilm Cille) ii 56; iii 7, 40; iv 70; vi 68.

<sup>13</sup> Ailfrid Mac Lochlainn, 1958, 'Irish manuscripts at Liverpool' in *Celtica* 4: 217-20.

<sup>14</sup> See Pádraig de Brún, 1967, 'Cnuasaigh de lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: treoirliosta', *Studia Hibernica* 7: 167.

<sup>15</sup> e. g. 24 L 21 (816), 12 F 20 (897), Eg. 150, Eg. 106, H. 1. 15, G 22, M 55, R 70, 29M, etc.

<sup>16</sup> O'Grady and Flower (1926) ii 395-7.



confident that the historical foundations of the work are beyond doubt.<sup>17</sup> Other scholars continued to have deep reservations about its historicity. Robin Flower, for example, was 'doubtful if actions related in it have much historical warrant'.<sup>18</sup> Bugge's confidence was indeed shown to be ill-founded when Professor J. Ryan carefully compared the Cellachán of the saga with the historical Cellachán as he emerges in the annals.<sup>19</sup>

In the annals, the hero of the *résistance* emerges as a ruthless power-hungry Munster king who makes extensive use of the Vikings as military allies. He is first mentioned in the annals in 936 when at the head of the forces of Munster, he plundered Clonmacnoise very shortly indeed after it had been plundered by the Vikings of Dublin.<sup>20</sup> In 939, with the forces of Munster together with the Vikings of Waterford under their king, the son of one Haakon, he raided Meath, plundered the monasteries of Clonenagh and Killeigh, took their abbots prisoner and ravaged the country as far as Clonard.<sup>21</sup> Two years later, Muirchertach mac Néill appears, obtained the submission of Osraige and ravaged the land of Munster. Cellachán naturally regarded this activity of the Uí Néill as an intrusion and he reacted immediately. He attacked and defeated the Déisi, apparently because they had submitted to Muirchertach. In revenge, they joined forces with Osraige and defeated Cellachán who was then taken prisoner by Muirchertach. Cellachán's first recorded encounter with Dál Cais took place in 941. He defeated them in battle at Gort Rottacháin and slew two sons, Cennétig mac Lorcáin, the leader of Dál Cais. This defeat was long remembered by Dál Cais.<sup>22</sup> In 951, Cellachán plundered Clonmacnoise and Clonfert, Síl nAnmchada and Delbna Bethra and destroyed a church at Gallen possibly in an attempt to prevent the power of the king of Tara, Congalach mac Máele Mithig, extending his authority and influence into the south.<sup>23</sup> Again, in 953 the Munstermen formed an alliance with the Vikings of Limerick and possibly though probably under the leadership of Cellachán, plundered and sac-

<sup>17</sup> Bugge (1905) x, xiii.

<sup>18</sup> O'Grady and Flower (1926) ii 403.

<sup>19</sup> John Ryan, 1941, 'The historical content of *Caitheirém Ceallacháin Chaisil*', *JRSAL* 71: 89-100.

<sup>20</sup> FM s.a. 934 [= 936]; A. Clon. s.a. 930 [= 936]; CS s.a. 935 [= 936].

<sup>21</sup> FM s.a. 937 [= 939]. Ryan (1941) 98. *Macca Cuind* (FM) is to be read *Mac Cuind* 'son of Haakon'. It is to be noted that neither Haakon nor his son make any appearance in *CCC*.

<sup>22</sup> AU, Ann. Inisf. s. a. 941; FM s.a. 939 [= 941]; A. Clon. s.a. 933 [= 941].

<sup>23</sup> M. A. O'Brien, 1962, *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae* i (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies) 237 = Lec. 225 R a 6 = BB 182 b 29 = UM 28 V a 64 = U 28 R b 13 (for ease of reference throughout I give folio references to the texts edited by O'Brien and to the facsimile of the Book of Uí Maine [UM]); AU s.a. 944; FM s.a. 944 [= 944]. The battle took place at Gort Rottacháin according to AU, at Mag Igha according to the other annals and the genealogical tracts.

<sup>24</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 951; FM s.a. 949 [= 951].



onmacnoise.<sup>25</sup> A year later Cellachán was dead. This sober naturalistic portrait is far removed from the scourge of the Vikings presented us in the text; the Viking tyranny over Munster depicted in such lurid colours we may dismiss as sheer fantasy and invention; and the prominence of Dál Cais as long historical contenders for, and sharers in, the kingship of Munster is simply anachronistic as far as the first half of the tenth century is concerned.<sup>26</sup> Ryan considers CCC to be dynastic propaganda on behalf of Mac Carthaig, composed in emulation of *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*<sup>27</sup> (The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill) which itself was put together in the early twelfth century to glorify the Uí Briain: CCC is the Mac Carthaig riposte. Although later than *Cogadh*, Ryan would date CCC to the period before 1118, the period of Uí Briain dominance, because of the careful and indeed subservient way in which Mac Carthaig claims are advanced without undue insult to the honour of the Uí Briain.<sup>28</sup> In general, Ryan's conclusions have been endorsed by Professor Brian Ó Cuív and Dr. Kathleen Hughes. Ó Cuív firmly places CCC within the context to which it properly belongs: the historical dynastic literature composed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries about 'some of the best-known historical persons of the ninth and tenth centuries'<sup>29</sup>. Dr. Hughes, whilst accepting Ryan's conclusions in general, would date CCC (I think rightly) to the period after 1118. Her comparison of *Cogadh* and CCC is however less happy. In her view 'The War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill draws on genuine historical material and follows the main events of Brian's career as they are outlined in the annals. The author of the Battle-Career of Cellachán was not basing his account on any such sources: he was trying to evoke an image of the king of Cashel's greatness which fits in well with Mac Carthy ambitions'.<sup>30</sup> The text is indeed written in the interest of Mac Carthaig and his ambitions but its author draws on sources quite as genuine as the annals, insofar as any sources may be described as genuine; he does not enjoy in some important senses 'freedom from the restraints of fact' or even freedom from written historical sources but his use of them (and their type) is fundamentally different from that to be found in *Cogadh* and even more different from what modern notions of history teach us to expect.

<sup>25</sup> AU s.a. 953; FM s.a. 951 [= 953]; A. Clon. s.a. 948 [= 951].

<sup>26</sup> Ryan (1941) 95-100.

<sup>27</sup> J. H. Todd, 1867, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaib* (London: Rolls Series). For comment on the text, see B. Ó Cuív, 1963, 'Literary creation and Irish historical tradition' in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 49: 233-62; Kathleen Hughes, 1972, *Early christian Ireland: introduction to the sources* (London: Hodder and Stoughton) 288-98. For the relationships between this text and the annals, see R. H. Leach, 1968, 'Cogadh Gaedhel Gallaibh and the Annals of Inisfallen' in *NMAJ* 11: 13-21.

<sup>28</sup> Ryan (1941) 91.

<sup>29</sup> Ó Cuív (1963) 241.

<sup>30</sup> Hughes (1972) 300.

### 3. *Historical analysis of the text*

Since *CCC* contains a vast amount of genealogical and other matter, information which requires to be tested against the annals and other genealogical texts, it is necessary to examine the text in detail, chapter by chapter if one wishes to establish the sources used by the author, his methods of work and his purpose in writing. In the following pages, I give an abstract of each chapter or group of related chapters of *CCC* followed by a commentary and analysis of contents.

§§ 1-2 The Vikings attack Munster in the reign of Artrí mac Cathail and the wars and struggles continue until the time of Cellachán. There follows (§ 2) a list of the kings of Munster from Artrí mac Cathail to Lorcán mac Connlígáin, Cellachán's immediate predecessor. The chapters bear a close resemblance to *Cogadh* §§ 1-2. There too the beginning of the Viking terror is dated to the reign of Artrí mac Cathail († 821). And there follows a similar list of the kings of Munster<sup>31</sup> (*Cogadh* § 2). The lists in *CCC* § 2 and *Cogadh* § 2 differ in three details. *CCC* omits the reign of Ailgenán mac Donngaile († 851) of Éoganacht Chaisil, supplies some detail on the Munster kings which is totally absent in *Cogadh*, and cuts short the list at Lorcán mac Connlígáin, Cellachán's predecessor. The detail contained in the *CCC* king-list, particularly on the death of Feidlimid mac Crimthainn and the account of the battle of Sciath Nechtain is to be found in the annals<sup>32</sup> but it may equally be derived from story-material which grew up about these incidents. And it may have been present in the king-list from which the compiler of *CCC* derived his information.

§ 3 The tyranny and exactions of the Vikings which lasted for 141 years, from the reign of Artrí mac Cathail to the coming of Cellachán.

These details are derivative of *Cogadh* § 40, clear verbal echoes of which occur in *CCC* § 3. *CCC* §§ 1-3 provide the historical background to Cellachán's activities in a much more modest way than the long annalistic introduction to the career of Brian and Mathgamain in *Cogadh* §§ 1-42.

<sup>30a</sup> Forms of names cited in the summaries are as in the text. Forms are normalised in the discussion.

<sup>31</sup> The king-list is absent from Recension I of *Cogadh* (Todd (1867) 221 = Best and O'Brien, 1967, *The Book of Leinster* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies) 1319-25). *CCC* §§ 1-2 is therefore closer to Recension II of *Cogadh*.

<sup>32</sup> AU, Ann. Inisf. s.a. 848. The details of Sciath Nechtain are to be found in *Cogadh* § 21, whence the compiler of *CCC* may have derived them.



A champion, Cellachán, arises to defend Munster against the Vikings. His genealogy, ascending to the prehistoric Ailill Ólom, is given. He is the only king according to the writers who defended Munster against the Vikings from the reign of Artrí mac Cathail to the reign of the great Brian. He spends a year and a half spying out Munster in disguise in preparation for his campaigns. His origin, that he is the illegitimate son of the wife of the coarb of Cashel (*comarba Caisil*), is given incidentally. Whilst Cellachán is spying his mother remains at Cashel collecting troops for his use.

Again, the introduction of Cellachán is reminiscent of the introduction of Mathgamain and Brian in *Cogadh* § 43. Cellachán's genealogy ascends to Ailill Ólom, the prehistoric ancestor of the Éoganacht and, in the genealogical schema, the common ancestor of the Éoganacht and the Dál Cais. The genealogy in *Cogadh* § 43 ascends one generation further to Mug Nuadat, the father of Ailill Ólom. Each text, for different reasons as we shall see, underwrites the fiction of the common ancestry of Éoganacht and Dál Cais. It is notable, too, that CCC is careful to give Brian Boruma credit for his wars against the Vikings, an interpretation of Brian's career which most probably derives from *Cogadh*.

Two traditional motifs associated with the king-hero emerge in this chapter. Cellachán is the illegitimate son of the wife of the coarb of Cashel.<sup>33</sup> Illegitimacy, incestuous or extraordinary birth is a widely exemplified characteristic of the Irish hero both in secular literature and hagiography. Ryan's notion (1941: 95) then, that the author of CCC was not 'altogether kind to his hero, for he suggests—possibly owing to a false interpretation of the words *comarba Caisil*—that Cellachán was of illegitimate birth' may not be at all relevant here. The second heroic element lies in Cellachán's disguise and searching out of Munster. Professor Pádraig Ó Riain, in a recent original

It is difficult to know what is meant by the words *comarba Caisil* (cf. *Caisil gan* *urba* § 59, which is clearly political). Exx. of the incorrect use of the word with ecclesiastical placenames occur in the annals from the mid-tenth century: AU s. aa. 958, 1008, 1009, 1022, 1025; FM s.aa. 1045, 1073; Ann. Inisf. 1074; AU s. aa. 1098; Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1106; AU s.a. 1109; CS s.a. 1112; Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1113; s. aa. 1114, 1117 (bis). The first literary references to a church at Cashel occur 101. Cormac's famous chapel at Cashel was begun in 1127 and consecrated in 1134. However, the round tower on the rock of Cashel has been dated to the tenth century and may well have been an ecclesiastical foundation there at that time. The reference well reflect the ecclesiastical activity about Cashel in the twelfth century.

and perceptive study,<sup>34</sup> analyses this incident (I think rightly) as the displacement or alienation which the hereditary king undergoes before initiation or readmission to status. In this case, however, Cellachán's alienation is rationalised as military reconnaissance.<sup>35</sup> Here then we find the compiler of CCC laying under contribution the traditional fund of motifs associated with kingship. A third such motif emerges in § 5.

§§ 5, 6

The day on which Cellachán returns to Cashel the hosts of the two provinces of Munster are king-making at Glanworth. It appears that Cennétig mac Lorcáin (of Dál Cais) is their choice, the other candidate being Donnchad (of Éoganacht Glendamnach). The text then recites the order of succession to the overkingship (*airdri*) between Dál Cais and the Éoganacht: *an feidil ba sine dona saerclannaib in righi dho. Damad do Clainn Eogain in t-airdri in tanaistecht do Clainn Cormaic do Dál Cais. Ocus damad do Clainn Cormaic in caemri in tanaistecht do Clainn Eogain Mhoir. Gan righi do neoch do Éoganacht min bhudh e bhudh fhearr fis ⁊ firleiginn ⁊ flaitheine dona fialchuradaibh.* His mother advises Cellachán not to appear with his troops at the assembly and lay claim to the kingship. Meanwhile, she goes before him at Glanworth and announces his coming to the nobles of Munster. She urges the assembly to remember the arrangement made between Cormac Cas and Fiachra Muillethan (the arrangement of alternate succession) and she states that there is a superior Éoganacht candidate, namely Cellachán. The nobles of Munster demand that Cellachán be brought to them to elect him king. At this point, the two other candidates, Cennétig and Donnchad, retire from the contest since, if they contested it, only the Vikings would profit from their dissensions.

The activities of his mother on Cellachán's behalf find their closest parallel in the Múscrige legend of Máire Búachalla and the enkinging of her son, Conaire Mór. In each case, the son is born after the heroic fashion, and his mother advises him that a royal election in which he should be a candidate is in progress, provides him with troops with which to overawe the assembly, and g

<sup>34</sup> P. Ó Riain, 1972, 'A study of the Irish legend of the Wild Man' in *Éigse* 14: 9.

<sup>35</sup> For a similar incident concerning Donnchadh, son of Anmchadh Ó Giolla Páda, see A. Conn., A. L. Cé s.a. 1239. Cf. Ó Cuív (1963) 253-4.

<sup>36</sup> Lucius Gwynn, 1912, 'De Síil Chonairi Móir' in *Ériu* 6: 133.



before him to announce his coming. Given the familiarity of the author of *CCC* with the Munster genealogies, it is not unlikely that the story of Conaire is his direct exemplar at this point.

The claim that the Éoganacht and Dál Cais had an equal alternate right to the kingship of Cashel is first put forward in the Dál Cais genealogical tracts<sup>37</sup> and this in traditional Irish historiography is the conventional way of signalling the arrival and the real claims of a new dynasty and represents, in fact, the restructuring of history to suit changed political circumstances. This statement of alternate right, then, represents the retrospective claim of the Dál Cais to the kingship of Munster which they enjoyed to the practical exclusion of the historic claimants, the Éoganacht, from the late tenth to the early twelfth century. This claim is put in even more uncompromising terms in *Cogadh* § 57. In *CCC* it is accepted as historical but is turned about to justify the claims of Meic Carthaig, the lineal descendants of the Éoganacht, to the kingship of Munster in the second and third decades of the twelfth century when their fortunes revived largely due to the intervention of Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, in Munster affairs. The stress on the *bráthairse* 'kinship' of the two great dynasties here and elsewhere in *CCC* seems to reflect the brittle compromise between Uí Briain and Meic Carthaig from 1127 to 1134.

The seventeen tuatha enking Cellachán. Their leaders are Suilleaban of Cenel Fingin, Ribhordan of Clann Donnngaili, Caellaidi, Laidacan, Duineachaidh, Cuilen, Eigertach, and Lighan.

Most of these Éoganacht leaders can be identified from the genealogical tracts and their identification throws a curious light on *CCC*.

*Suilleaban*. As *CCC* accurately records he is Súildubán (*vll.* Súdubán, Súillebán) of Cenél Fíngin, one of the main segments of Éoganacht Chaisil and eponymous ancestor of Uí Shúilleabháin (R 150 b 15). On a generation count at least he is a contemporary of Cellachán. He plays an important role in *CCC*: he addresses the troops before the attack on Limerick (§ 9), he is second only to Cellachán in the attack itself (§ 16), he determines that the host should attack Cork (§ 20), he is prominent in the

attack on Waterford (§ 22) and he is summoned, as one of the leaders of Cenél Fíngin to go to the rescue of Cellachán (§ 45).

*Ribhordan*. The correct form of the name is Rígbarddán Ríoghbbhardán. He is later referred to as Ribhordan mac Assida (§ 45). His genealogy (*Leabhar Muimhneach* 217 § 58. Cf. R 150 b 22 = O'Brien (1962) 217) shows that he is the eponym of the Uí Rígbardáin. Though not mentioned in the annals, his *floruit* can be computed with reasonable accuracy. According to Version I of the Éoganacht Chaisil pedigrees<sup>38</sup> he is seventh in descent from Donngal whilst Cellachán is fifth. According to Version II he is seventh in descent from Fáilbe Flann († 637/9) whilst Cellachán is ninth. He is third in descent from Dúnachad mac Duib dá Bairenn, king of Munster (R 150 b 23), who died in 888 and is two generations later than his collateral, Finguine Cenn Gécáin, king of Munster (R 150 b 31; LL 320 a 55), who died in 902. On a genealogical count he would have flourished in or about 960.

*Caellaídi*. This Caellaídi or Cóellaide (see *Cuilen*, below) raises some problems and his inclusion here may be a slip. He may be identified with Cóellaide mac Conaill meic Snédgusa, ancestor and eponym of Clann Chóellaide of Cenél Conaill, a sub-segment of Clann Donngaile (R 150 b 38–45). On a generation-count he is coeval with Snédgus of Clann Donngaile, fourth in ascent from Cellachán and could not possibly be his contemporary. Apart from being mentioned here and in the verse-list (§ 10), Cóellaide makes no further appearance in CCC.

*Laindacan*. The form *Lainneachan* occurs in the verse-list (§ 10). This may be a slip for Fland, in which case he could be a representative of the second branch of Cenél Fíngin, father of Máel Fathartaig, who died in 957, and senior contemporary of Cellachán (R 150 b 7). This identification is highly speculative however and it sorts ill with the alliterative prose (§ 9) and the metre of the verse-list (§ 10).

*Duineachaidh*. He is identical with Duinechaid mac Fiangusa meic Échtgusa, a representative of the third great branch of Cenél Fíngin (R 150 b 17). He is again mentioned as an intermediary between the Viking and Irish fleets in § 61. His son, Donnchadh mac Duineachaid, is listed amongst the leaders summoned to rescue Cellachán

<sup>38</sup> O'Brien (1962) 215–8 = R 150 b 6. See genealogical tables.



(§ 45). His inclusion here is wildly anachronistic. He is fifth in descent from the common ancestor, Fíngin, whilst his alleged contemporary, Súillebán, is eighth in descent. His son, Donnchad, is alleged (§ 45) to be a contemporary of Máel Fathartaig mac Flaind who died in 957 and who is tenth in descent from the same Fíngin. On a generation-count, he is the exact contemporary of Cellachán's ancestor, Snédgus.

*Cuilen*. He is to be identified with Cuilén mac Aindiarraid (§§ 10, 20, 45) of Clann Chóellaide of Cenél Conaill (R 150 b 45). He is one of the leaders summoned to the rescue of Cellachán (§ 45). He is fourth in descent from Cóellaide abovementioned and on a generation-count is an exact contemporary of Cellachán. If my identification of Cóellaide is correct, one could postulate that the writer (or a later copyist) originally intended writing *Cuilen re gCloinn gCoellaide* or some such or simply misread the genealogical tract which evidently lay before him.

*Eigirtach*. He is later referred to as Eigirtach mac Cormaic (§ 45) and is identical with Écertach of Clann Cherbaill, a branch of Cenél Conaill (R 150 b 41), who flourished two generations later than Cellachán. His son, who is described as *rígdamna Caisil*, died in 1027.

*Lighan*. The identification of this person poses difficulties. If we were to emend to Connligán we could identify him with Connligán mac Corcráin of Cenél Conaill who, on a generation-count, is an exact contemporary of Cellachán. He was, however, the father of Lorcán mac Connligáin, Cellachán's immediate predecessor, who assumed the kingship of Cashel in 922. Again, neither the alliterative prose nor the verse admit the emendation and his identity must remain problematic.

A number of additional personages who, it is implied, were also present at the enkinging of Cellachán, is mentioned in the verse-list (§ 10) which is probably later than the main text. All persons mentioned in § 7 recur in this list with the exception of Súillebán who is the speaker of the verse. The additional persons are Fogartach, Donnchad, Aedh mac Cuill and Aedh mac Ailghinain.

Fogartach may be identical with Fogartach mac Donngaile meic Flaithrí (Lec., 216 V a 50) who on a generation-count is almost an exact contemporary of Cellachán according to Version I of the *Éoganacht Chaisil* pedigrees. Donnchad is probably to be identified with

Donnchad mac Domnaill (§ 45). If this is correct, he belongs to Clann Donngaile and in Version I of the Éoganacht Chaisil pedigree he is seventh in descent from Donngal, Cellachán being fifth. Áed mac Cuill is eponymous ancestor of the Uí Chuill (*Leabhar Muimhneach* 220). According to this late genealogy he is second cousin and exact contemporary of Dúngal mac Máel Fathardaig, king of Cashel, who died in 1025. Áed mac Ailgenáin is difficult to identify. He could, however, be considered a son of Ailgenán, king of Cashel, who died in 853. In that case he would probably have survived into the early tenth century and would have been more than a generation older than Cellachán, though a contemporary in the genealogical schema. Of those present at the enkinging of Cellachán, those who can be identified belong exclusively to Éoganacht Chaisil and in the case of those who cannot be identified with certainty there is no good reason to suspect that they belonged to any group other than Éoganacht Chaisil. The *morshocraite dha choiced Muman* (§ 5) reduces itself to the minor lords and the heads of the chief local families of Éoganacht Chaisil. The other branches of the Éoganacht (including Éoganacht Glendamnach who are so important in this text) and the Dál Cais have nothing whatever to do with the election of Cellachán and, as far as one can see, Cellachán is elected not to the kingship of Munster but to the local kingship of the Éoganacht of Cashel. It is strange that this election should take place at Glanworth, the homeland of the Éoganacht Glendamnach but this may be explained by the author's notion that the Vikings were in possession of Cashel (§§ 22, 20). Further, when Cellachán and his troops arrive at Cashel (§20) Donnchad, king of Éoganacht Glendamnach, musters his forces to Cashel to oppose Cellachán.

In compiling his list of the lords of Éoganacht Chaisil the author of CCC is little concerned with chronology. His concern is that there should be present a representative of each major family and segment within Éoganacht Chaisil and he is particularly concerned that eponymous ancestors of later Éoganacht families should be present. His chief source of information, as we shall see more clearly later, was a copy of the Éoganacht genealogical tracts identical in almost all respects with that to be found in Rawlinson B 502 and LL.



§§ 8-19 Cellachán addresses the troops and it is decided that they should attack Limerick. A message is sent to the Vikings of Limerick asking them either to abandon the city or hand over hostages. The Vikings decide to offer battle. Súilleabán harangues the troops and he urges them not to let Clann Cormaic Cais (i.e. Dál Cais) or Clann Eachach (i.e. Éoganacht Glendamnach, who were descended from Echu mac Óengusa) hear of any terms or weakness on their part. If they are victorious Limerick will be in their hand, Cashel their heritage, and Munster will be in the possession of their nobles (§ 9). The list of their leaders and part of the harangue is recounted in verse (§ 10). There follows a description of their arms and preparations (§ 11), an account of the Viking arms and leaders (§ 12) and a heroic account of the battle (§§ 13-18) in which most of the leaders already mentioned distinguish themselves in single combats with the Vikings. The victorious followers of Cellachán drive the Vikings into Limerick, storm the town, slay them in their houses, enslave their women and children and take their gold, silver and plunder. This prose account is followed by a poem (§ 19) in which some incidents of the battle are recounted.

The attack on Limerick is strongly reminiscent of the Dál Cais attack on the city after the battle of Sulchoít (*Cogadh* §§ 53-5) and *Cogadh* may have partly inspired the author of CCC. However, there are other considerations. He practically equates the taking of Limerick with seizing the sovereignty of Munster and two reasons for this view may be suggested. Cellachán's attack on Limerick is his first engagement as king, his *crech rí* 'royal foray', by which he demonstrates his suitability for office.<sup>39</sup> Secondly, by the early twelfth century as the annals clearly show, Limerick had become an Uí Briain capital and for a twelfth-century writer the taking of Limerick would in real political terms be the acquisition of the sovereignty of Munster. In fact, there may be a reflex of the political events of the year 1125 in the present account. In that year, Tairdelbach Ua Briain, king of Thomond, was at odds with the Ostmen of Limerick and with the Ciarraige and Cormac Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond, seized the kingship of Limerick.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> P. Ó Riain, 1973, "The 'Crech Ríg' or 'Regal Prey'" in *Éigse* 15: 24-30.

<sup>40</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1125. No details concerning these events are given.

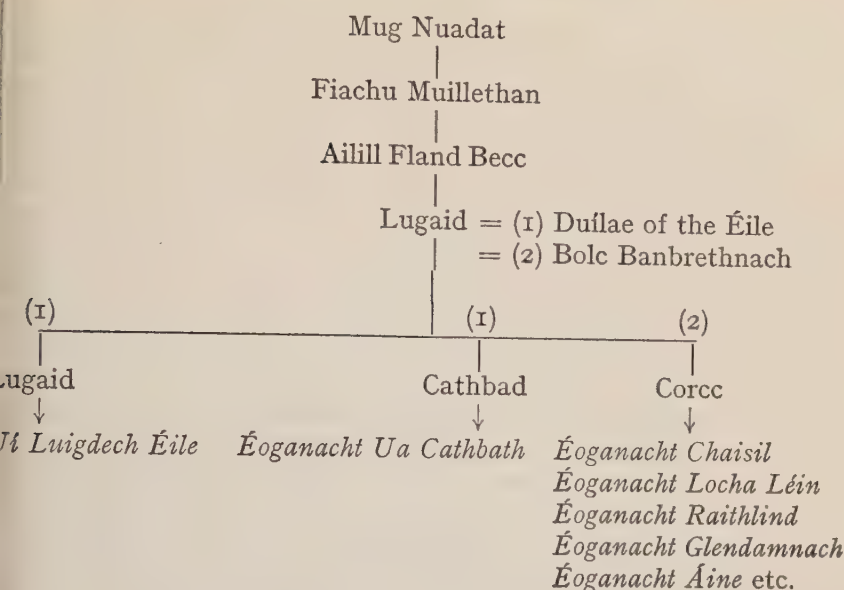
## § 20

After the battle of Limerick some of the leaders suggest that they should ravage Cashel. Súilleabán however urges them to attack Cork where their hostages are held. They march to Cork, defeat the Vikings of the city and rescue their hostages. They then march on Cashel. At Sliab Crot on their way northwards Fir Maige Féne, U Chuanach and some Viking bands offer them battle. These are defeated and Cellachán plunders the countryside northwards to Thurles. Éile Deiscirt and Éile Tuaiscirt gather their forces to oppose them at Thurles. When the Uí Luigdech and the Éoganacht hear this they join forces with Cellachán under their leader, Cuilén mac Aindiaraidh meic Dúnadaigh. A battle ensues in which the Éile are defeated, their king is captured and their territory is ravaged, but Cellachán does not burn Thurles. Cellachán and his forces then advance on Cashel but Donnchad, king of Éoganacht Glendamnach, arrives at Cashel to oppose them. Negotiations take place between the two leaders and Cellachán promises him *tuarastal* and succession of the kingship of Munster in due course.

The interest in Cork can easily be explained by reference to Mac Carthaig and Uí Chellacháin interests in Cork in the twelfth century (*Misc. Ir. Ann.* 1118; *Ann. Inisf.* FM 1121 *etc.*). The hostility shown by Fir Maige Féne and Uí Chuanach is less easy to document. Already, in the early twelfth century, Fir Maige Féne were under pressure from the Éoganacht Glendamnach (Cf. *Misc. Ir. Ann.* 1121) and it is likely that both peoples resented the new-found authority of the incoming Meic Carthaig.

The struggle with the Éile raises some formidable problems. As we have already seen (§§ 7, 45), Cuilén mac Aindiarraid belongs to Clann Chóellaide, a family within Cenél Conaill of Éoganacht Chaisil. Here, however, he is presented as lord of Uí Luigdech Éile and Éoganacht. The genealogists considered the Uí Luigdech Éile to be related to the Éoganacht and set out the relationship in the following schema (R 148 a 5 *etc.*): (see opposite →) Clearly, the author of CCC has this genealogical schema in mind when he makes Cuilén lord of Uí Luigdech and Éoganacht and both natural allies of Cellachán. Uí Luigdech Éile, later Ileagh, is the territory about Borrisoleigh and Thurles, which Cellachán does not sack, lies in it. The Éoganacht in question here are not the Éoganacht Chaisil or the Éoganachta as a whole but





Éoganacht Ua Cathbath whose lands lay about the Nenagh river to the north-west of Uí Luigdech Éile. It is doubtful if they were really Éoganacht: their genealogy has all the appearances of an aetiological construct. Why should Cuilén mac Aindiarraid of Éoganacht Chaisil appear in this context? I believe he appears there by mistake. The genealogies of the Éile (R 154 a 28 = Lec. 223 V b 1 = Mac Firbis 663 c) are confused and contradictory and are of little help in solving the problem and there are no pedigrees (to my knowledge) of the Uí Luigdech Éile. However, in the late genealogies of the Uí Mechair of Éile (Mac Firbis 664 d; cf. O Clery § 2046, *Leabhar Muimhneach*, 248) there is mention of a *Caolluighe a quo Húi Chaolluighe*. The earlier form of this name is Cóellaide and the author of CCC may have momentarily confused this family with the Clann Chóellaide of Éoganacht Chaisil. In addition, there is a dynast called Cuilén of the main line of the Éile, mentioned in the Éile genealogies (R 154 a 28 etc.), and it is not improbable that he flourished in the late tenth century. Cuilén mac Aindiarraid does not again appear in this context. He is listed among the Clann Donngaile dynasts (where he properly belongs) in the account of the expedition to rescue Cellachán (§ 45) and on that expedition the forces of Éoganacht Ua Cathbath are commanded by one Conaing mac

Larchada (see § 45 below). Uí Luigdech Éile do not seem to be represented on that occasion. A more direct political significance may lie behind this reassertion of the ancient relationship between the Éoganacht and Uí Luigdech Éile. In the twelfth century, the Uí Briain were penetrating rapidly into Éile and so successful was this penetration that Brian Ua Briain, who died in 1169, is referred to in the annals as king of Éile. The incident in CCC may be read as a deliberate re-statement of the genealogical connection between the Uí Luigdech and the Éoganacht, in this instance Meic Carthaig, and a consequent claim on the political loyalty of some of the people of Éile in the twelfth century.

Donnchad mac Caim, who appears at Cashel to oppose Cellachán, is king of Éoganacht Glendamnach and plays a most important role in CCC. He is one of the candidates for the kingship of Munster who stands down in favour of Cellachán (§§ 5, 7). Súillebán, in his address to the troops before the attack on Limerick urges that Donnchad and Éoganacht Glendamnach should hear of no weakness on their part (§§ 9, 10). He becomes Cellachán's battle champion (§§ 21, 22) and he comes to his aid against the Uí Chairbre. His son, Áed mac Donnchada, is slain in Dublin on an expedition with Cellachán (§§ 32, 35, 42) and Donnchad himself is to the fore in the rescue of Cellachán from the Vikings (§§ 45, 49). The genealogies of Donnchad's family, the Uí Chaímh and Éoganacht Glendamnach, are in a bad state of repair for the tenth century. They disagree with the annals and seem to be quite unreliable after the death of Artrí mac Cathail († 821), the last Éoganacht Glendamnach king of Munster of any consequence. The following table shows the discrepancies of the main versions and the place of Donnchad in the scheme:

(see opposite →)

Donnchad is referred to variously in the text: *Donnchad . . . mac Caeimh Hi Caeim* (§ 10); *Donnchad mac Caeim* (§§ 20, 45, 47, 49, 56, 88, 90, 97); *Donnchad . . . ua Eogain, . . . ua Oililla Oluim, . . . ua Eeach, . . . Ua Mhogha, . . . do Shíu Catail* (§ 21); *Donnchadh mac Caeim meic Airt meic Cathail*; *Donnchadh mac Caoimh . . . mac Áirdrigh* (§ 45). His son is referred to as *Aedh mac Donnchada meic Caeim* (§ 32); (gen.) *Aedha mheich Donnchada meic Caeim* (§ 35) *Aodh mac Donnchada . . . O Caoim ua* (vl. Ó) *Chathail* (§ 42). It is clear that the writer of CCC had before him a



L 320 c 44

Finguine  
 |  
 Cathal  
 |  
 Artrí  
 |  
 Gormán  
 |  
 Finguine  
 |  
 Cáem  
 |  
 Donnchad  
 |  
 Áed  
 |  
 Domnall

Leabhar Muimhneach 221

Finguine  
 |  
 Cathal  
 |  
 Artrí  
 |  
 Gormán  
 |  
 Finguine  
 |  
 Cáem  
 |  
 Donnchad  
 |  
 Áed  
 |  
 Domnall

UM 28 R a 37

Finguine  
 |  
 Cathal  
 |  
 Artrí  
 |  
 Cáem  
 |  
 Donnchad  
 |  
 Domnall

genealogy of Éoganacht Glendamnach which was identical in practically all aspects with that in UM. (*Art* for Artrí, corrected in the verse to *Áirdrigh* (§ 45,) is doubtless a scribal slip.) Further, in the generation-count (§ 21), UM is the only text which tallies exactly with CCC. The errors in the anachronistic use of the surname Ua Cáim confined, it should be noted, to the verse, may be ascribed to the attraction which the eponym, familiar in everyday usage, exercised over the twelfth-century writer. In the text available to the author of CCC (and in that of UM if we insert *Aed* between Donnchad and Domnall) there are merely four intermediary generations (including the eponym) between Artrí († 821) and Finguine mac Domnaill († 1135)—a period of 314 years. LL adds three generations to this but it is both inadequate and at variance with the annals. What the twelfth-century author of CCC had before him was the early genealogy of Éoganacht Glendamnach (as he further shows § 50) to which he splices (as does the UM tradition) unhistorically Cáem, the eponym of the Uí Chaím, and probably the known Uí Chaím descent thereafter to form a highly syncopated pedigree. And this period of ignorance corresponds to the period stretching from the decline of Éoganacht Glendamnach after the death of Artrí († 821) to their emergence as the dynastic family Uí Chaím in

the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The prominence of Donnchad in the saga of Cellachán must be ascribed to the desire of the author of CCC to flatter the Uí Chaíim, his descendants, who were amongst the most prominent followers and supporters of Meic Carthaig in the early twelfth century.

## § 21

A verse-exchange between Cellachán and Donnchad. The first portion is devoted to establishing the kin-relationship between the two; in the second portion Cellachán urges Donnchad to unite with him against the Vikings and he recites the *tuarastal* which he will grant him.

The first portion displays the genealogical learning of the author, all of which is correct by comparison with the surviving genealogical *corpus*. His generation-count between Donnchad and Óengus tallies exactly with the UM text, as has already been pointed out (§ 20). The generation-count between Cellachán and Óengus is in exact accord with the main genealogical tracts (R 150 b 19; 154 c 14; LL 320 b 1). At this point in the story, Cellachán acquires his first ally outside the immediate circle of the Éoganacht Chaisil leaders.

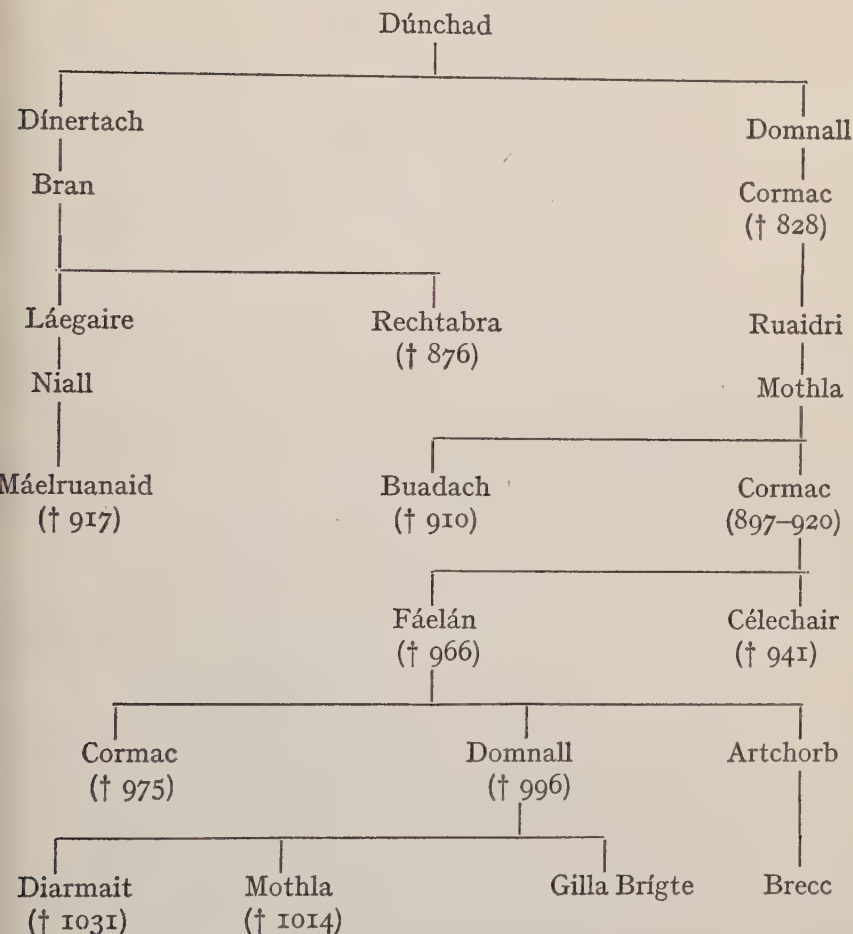
## § 22

Donnchad becomes Cellachán's battle-champion. They attack Cashel, defeat the occupying Vikings and spend the night there. Next day they set out for Waterford which they reach at the same time as Sitriuc mac Tuirgeis who arrives with six ships and 600 men. Nonetheless, they attack Waterford, drive Sitriuc in defeat to his ships, burn the city and ravage the surrounding countryside.

They then turn westwards and make a circuit of Munster. They take the hostages of Domnall mac Fáeláin, king of the Déisi, and arrange a marriage alliance with him. Next, they take the hostages of Uí Meic Caille and Uí Liatháin and, together with the forces of these peoples, they march westward and attack the territory of Éoganacht Locha Léin, plunder it and retire with the plunder to Múscraige. The Éoganacht Locha Léin come in pursuit of them but they are defeated and their king, Áed mac Scannail, is slain. They then take the hostages of the two kings of Áes Iste. After that, they go into Iarmumrú to Áes Irrais (i.e. Corcu Duibne). The king of Áes Irrais, Conghal mac Annratháin, attacks them; he is taken prisoner, many of his followers are slain and his territory is plundered. They spend a fortnight in Áes Irrais and finally release Conghal and take his hostages.



The attack on Waterford completes Cellachán's destruction of Viking power in Munster. He now turns to the proper business of an Irish overking, his circuit of the province to force the minor kings to recognise his overlordship. The choice of Domnall mac Fáelán as king of the Déisi is anachronistic, for Domnall could never have been king in the lifetime of Cellachán:



The kings who were contemporary with Cellachán are a generation earlier: Célechair mac Cormaic († 941) and Fáelán mac Cormaic († 966). *A fortiori*, Áed, son of Domnall, who is unknown to the genealogists, is two generations later than Cellachán and could scarcely have been born before Cellachán's death. There is a further

anachronism: Domnall is referred to as *Domnall Ua Faelain* (§ 58) and his son, who was slain in the course of Cellachán's expedition to Dublin, is referred to as *Aedh mac Domnaill Hui Fhaelain* (§§ 31, 38, 43). Fáelán, the eponymous ancestor, was slain in 966 and a genuine surname could not have come into existence until the eleventh century. This however does not bother the author of CCC who is intent on bringing as many as possible of the eponymous ancestors of the leading Munster families of the twelfth century into contact with Cellachán.

At this point, the author of CCC does not tell us the names of the kings of Uí Liatháin and Uí Meic Caille, but as he shows later (§ 45) he was not unaware of the genealogical traditions of the Uí Liatháin.

He now passes over the Éoganacht Raithlind (Uí Echach Muman) and other west Munster families and brings Cellachán into contact with Éoganacht Locha Léin. Áed mac Scannail, king of Éoganacht Locha Léin, is probably to be identified with Áed mac Scannláin, *tighearna Irluachra, eccnaidh ergna i Laittin 7 i nGaoidheilg*, who died in 943. However, there is no suggestion in the annals that his death had anything whatever to do with Cellachán and, strangely, for the author of CCC knows little other than what appears in the genealogies, this king is unknown to the genealogists (R 151 a 1; LL 327 a 32). The hostility shown to Éoganacht Locha Léin may be accounted for by reference to the twelfth-century annals. Here the kings of Éoganacht Locha Léin are shown to be enemies of the Meic Carthaig. In 1124 Muirchertach Ua Muirchertaig, king of Éoganacht Locha Léin, together with the leaders of Corcu Duibne and Ciarraige, were expelled from Munster by Cormac Mac Carthaig, most probably because they were in league with Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht. Next year, Muirchertach was back plundering in Munster at the head of a Connacht fleet and in 1126 he launched that fleet on Loch Léin. Together with a number of other west Munster leaders he was again expelled into Connacht in 1127 but he returned later in that year in command of another Connacht fleet which was active about the Shannon estuary. These activities, chiefly directed against Cormac Mac Carthaig, may be reflected in this passage.

It does not seem possible to trace the Áes Iste or their two kings.<sup>41</sup> In the genealogical schema (LL 327 b 21), they are an offshoot of Éoganacht Locha Léin but uncertainty attaches to their real affiliations and location. No person in their extant pedigree is dated but, by comparison with the dated main line, their records seem to come to an abrupt end in the mid-eighth century. What contemporary significance these obscure people had for the author of CCC escapes me and I can only suggest that in the days of the author Uí Muirchertaig were in occupation of the territory once called Áes Iste and that this passage is directed against them because of their hostility to Meic Carthaig.

Conghal mac Annrathain or, in the older form, Congal mac Ánrotháin, belongs to Áes Irruis Deiscirt of Corcu Duibne and is the eponymous ancestor of the Uí Chongaile, one of the dynastic families prominent in Corcu Duibne in the twelfth century (LL 324 g 2, 336 g 1). He died in 989, some thirty-five years after the death of Cellachán. His son, Mac Craith, died in 1013 and his grandson, Gilla Moccu Bleáin, in 1040. This is sufficient indication that his son Fiangal (§§ 33, 41-2, 75-6, 85), who is unknown to the genealogists, could not have been a contemporary of Cellachán. In CCC Congal is one of the commanders of the Munster fleet (§ 46) and together with his fellow dynasts, Ségda and Failbe of Corcu Duibne, he takes part in the final sea-battle against the Vikings at Dundalk and is slain (§§ 72-6, 85). This, as we have seen from the annals, is unhistorical. It is to be noted that the form Conall occurs in the verse (§§ 75, 77, 85) as does the totally anachronistic eponym, Ó Conaill (§ 85). His son, Fiangal, also plays a prominent role in CCC. He is one of the young leaders slain in the course of Cellachán's expedition to Dublin (§§ 33, 41-2). Nonetheless and

<sup>41</sup> Genealogies of Áes Iste occur in LL 327 b 21 and in RIA Stowe C 1 2, 40 R 8. Hogan (*Onomast.* 14b) is quite wrong in identifying them with Uí Chongaile. They are referred to in the Topographical Poems (John O'Donovan, 1862, *The Topographical Poems.*, (Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society) 106 = James Carney, 1943, *Topographica Poems* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies) 49:

*Aos Aisde an orláir eallaigh  
fuair an mac Ó Muircheartaigh  
fearann glan fó ghné ghlasbháin  
do ghabh é Ó hIonnasbháin.*

Here we have Uí Muirchertaig holding half of Áes Iste—the plain—and Uí Ionnasbháin (Innastáin, LL 327 b 29) holding the remainder. O'Donovan (1862: lxviii) took Áes Iste to be the dynastic name of the Uí Muirchertaig but the genealogies show that they are remote collaterals of the Eoganacht Locha Léin ruling families (including Uí Muirchertaig).



apparently none the worse, he reappears at Dundalk, alive and well and as full of hatred for the Vikings as ever. He laments the death of Fáilbe of Corcu Duibne (§ 75), joins in the battle and is again slain (§§ 76, 85). Here as elsewhere, the fact that Congal is the eponymous ancestor of a twelfth-century dynastic family is responsible for his being included amongst the characters in the saga.

§§ 23–25 Cellachán and his followers then go into Ciarraige and the Ciarraige, aided by some of the Vikings, offer them battle at Glenn Corbraige. Though Cellachán suffers heavy losses, he is victorious and he captures Concobar, king of Ciarraige. Flannabra mac Ciarmacáin, king of Uí Chonaill (Gabra) assembles his people to offer hostages but when he sees the fewness of Cellachán's host he demands hostages or battle of him. When the battle is impending, Donn Cuan mac Cennétig (of Dál Cais), who had been staying in the house of Uainide mac Cathail, king of Uí Chairbre, comes to the aid of Cellachán. The Éoganacht remind Donn Cuan of their dynastic friendship with his family and Cellachán promises him Uí Chonaill in return for his aid. This is followed by a verse exchange between Cellachán and Donn Cuan in which their dynastic kinship is discussed (§ 24). Cellachán then instructs Donn Cuan not to kill the king of Uí Chonaill (i.e. Flannabra mac Ciarmacáin). In the battle, Flannabra is heavily defeated, he himself is taken prisoner and Cellachán plunders his territory. At this point, Uaithne (= Uainide, § 23) mac Cathail and the Uí Chairbre assemble at Cromad to give Cellachán battle. Donnchad mac Caeim comes to his assistance with 500 men and together they defeat Uí Chairbre and slay their king. The two Corcu Modruads and the two Corcu Baiscinds assemble at Cromad and, unaware of Donn Cuan's presence, they send a message to Cellachán demanding battle. When Cellachán hears this, he instructs Donn Cuan to deal with them and prevent the battle.

In these chapters, Cellachán concludes his circuit of Munster.

Conchobar, king of Ciarraige Luachra, who is further described as *mac Meic Bethad* (§ 47), plays a part of some importance in CCC. Apart from his opposition on this occasion, he is one of the leaders summoned to Dundalk to rescue Cellachán (§ 47). He takes his part in the battle

which ensues and is slain (§§ 64, 66, 78, 89). His son, Donnchad, is slain in the course of Cellachán's expedition to Dublin (§§ 33, 40, 42). Again, these events are unhistorical: in the reign of Cellachán there is no king of Ciarraige called Conchobar<sup>42</sup> and the author of CCC is merely attracted by the eponym, for the Uí Chonchobair had monopolised the kingship of Ciarraige Luachra in the twelfth century.

Flannabra mac Ciarmacáin is the terminal personage in the Uí Fidgente pedigree which occurs among the Éoganacht genealogies (R 152 a 4). His father, Ciarmacán, died in 906. His two sons, Máel Sechnaill and Máel Ísa, died in 976 and 997 respectively. It is not unlikely then that he was a contemporary of Cellachán. Apart from this incident, Flannabra is listed among the leaders who went to the rescue of Cellachán (§ 45, where however the mistaken Airindan must be corrected to Ciarmacáin). Uainide (*vl.* Uaithne) mac Cathail, king of Uí Chairbre, is less well documented. According to the genealogists his pedigree is: Uainide mac Cathail meic Cinn Fáelad meic Duib dá Bairenn (UM 28 R d 28; O Clery 156; *Leabhar Muimhneach* 230). However, his grandfather, Cenn Fáelad, died in 774 and his great-grandfather, Dub dá Bairenn, died in 751. On the other hand, his grandson, Donnubán, ancestor of the later Uí Donnubáin, died in 980. There is every good reason to suspect a severely syncopated pedigree here or even a genealogical fiction designed to link the Uí Donnubáin with the Uí Chairbre. Our worst suspicions are confirmed when the author of CCC gaily despatches Cenn Fáelad, dead since 774, to the rescue of Cellachán from the Vikings (§ 45).

Donn Cuan mac Cennéitig is however most likely to have been a contemporary of Cellachán. His father, Cennéitig, died in 951; his brother, Marcán the pluralist abbot, died in 1010, most probably at an advanced age; his two brothers, Find and Dub, were slain at Mag Dúine by Cellachán in 944; and his two sons, Céileachair and Conaing, died in 1008 and 1014 respectively. Cellachán's grant of Uí Chonaill to Donn Cuan probably reflects the fluctuating spheres of influence of the Uí Briain and Meic Carthaig in the twelfth century and may represent the concession of Uí Chonaill Gabra to the Uí Briain.

<sup>42</sup> D. Ó Corráin. 1968. 'The regnal succession in Ciarraige Luachra' in *Jn. Kerry Arch. & Hist. Soc.* 1: 49-55.

Cellachán's demand that Donn Cuan should discipline Corcu Baiscind and Corcu Modruad is further evidence of agreed spheres of influence.

The use of the terms the two Corcu Baiscinds and the two Corcu Modruads is another interesting anachronism. In the end of the tenth century Corcu Baiscind is divided between two widely separated dynastic segments, Uí Nó, from whom the dynastic family, Uí Domnaill, descends (Lec. 109 R a 44 = BB 147 e 51) and Uí Décce (LL 324 g 34), who practically monopolise the kingship until the early decades of the tenth century. In the end of that century, Uí Nó break into the succession. CCC then refers to a situation which came into existence a generation or more after the reign of Cellachán. Similarly, two dynastic groups, Uí Chonchobair and Uí Lochlainn, shared the kingship of Corcu Modruad from the end of the tenth century (Lec. 121 V d 47; *Leabhar Muimhneach* 254-5). Lochlainn, *rigdamna* of Corcu Modruad, of whom the genealogist remarks: *do bi re lind Cellaich* (sic; *Cellachain*, BB) *meic Buadachan rig Caisil* (Lec. 122 R b 5; BB 160 cb 14), was slain in 983 and Conchobar, who was certainly ruling in 993, was slain in 1003. Their descendants shared the kingship between them in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (See § 46 below).

## § 26

Donn Cuan sets out to negotiate with the Corcu Modruad and the Corcu Baiscind. Meanwhile, Cellachán goes to Cashel and the men of Munster assemble about him. Cennéitig mac Lorcáin and Dál Cais are first to arrive. Cennéitig is given the office of *tánaise Muman* with the right of succession after Cellachán. They then 'consume the banquets of Cashel'. A message is sent demanding tribute of Osraige and of their king, Donnchad mac Cellaig, a tribute which had not been collected for 151 years, the period of the Viking occupation of the territory. The tribute is refused and Cellachán and his followers plunder Osraige. They defeat the Leinstermen in three battles and in a fourth they capture Donnchad mac Cellaig and the Osraige give hostages.

In this section, Cellachán, hitherto king of Éoganacht Chaisil, completes his circuit of Munster and is recognised as king of the province. The settlement with Cennéitig mac Lorcáin follows on this achievement. Cennéitig



becomes *tánaise Muman* with right of succession<sup>43</sup> and here the tyranny of fact intrudes itself for Cennéitig is so called in the annals. Here again, as in §§ 5–6, the Dál Cais-Éoganacht doctrine of alternation is turned about to the advantage of Meic Carthaig.

In structure, §§ 8–26 are a description of the royal circuit of Munster by which Cellachán is recognised as king of the province. On this is superimposed the pattern of Cellachán's victorious struggle with the Vikings of Munster. Further light is thrown on this in Donnchad mac Caím's harangue to the troops (§ 47) in which he recites Cellachán's victories over the Vikings. Four of these victories, Limerick (§§ 8–19), Cork (§ 20), Cashel (§§ 20, 22), and Waterford (§ 22), are in fact victories over the Vikings; four, Sliab Crot (§ 20), Thurles (§§ 20, 22), Glenn Corbraige (§ 23), and Senguala Ó Conaill (§§ 23–5), are victories over Irish subkingdoms which, according to the author of CCC, were aided by the Vikings; but the remaining seven battles, Múscraige (§ 22), Ard Osraidi<sup>44</sup> (§ 22), Cromad (§ 25) and the four encounters with the Leinstermen and Osraige (§ 26), are victories won over Irish kingdoms. It is part of the tendentiousness of the author of CCC to suggest that all enemies of Cellachán were in alliance with the Vikings (Cf. §§ 27, 91) but even within his own terms of reference he finds it difficult to impose the pattern of victorious warfare against the Vikings on what is basically an Irish king's royal circuit of his province.

Now that he is king of Munster Cellachán turns upon Osraige and demands tribute. Donnchad mac Cellaig, king of Osraige, is, in fact, Cellachán's contemporary: he became king in 934 and reigned until his death in 976. In CCC Osraige is regarded as part of Leinster and this is an anachronism as far as the tenth century is concerned. It is not regarded as part of Leinster until the eleventh century when the king of Osraige, Donnchad mac Gilla Phátraic, succeeded in making himself king of Leinster<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> For the office of *tánaise* within the system of royal succession, see D. Ó Corráin, 1971, 'Irish regnal succession: a reappraisal' in *Studia Hibernica* 11: 7–39.

<sup>44</sup> I have no other Irish exx. of Ard Osraide. In the Book of Lismore a space which may have been meant to include the location of Cellachán's victory over the Corcu Duibne (§ 22) is left vacant. It is probably identical with *Ardosrie* or *Ardhossery* in Corkaguiny which Adam de Barry granted to Sir John de Barry in 1307. (*Cal. Justiciary Rolls Ire.*, ii 394, 404).

<sup>45</sup> T. F. O'Rahilly, 1946, *Early Irish history and mythology* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies) 18, 24. The teaching of the genealogists (R 128 b 29): *ni dílsiu do Laignib int ainm as Lagin oldas do Ossairgiu* i.e. the Osraige are no less entitled to the name Leinstermen than the Leinstermen themselves, reflects the political situation of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Further, Cellachán's attack on Osraige may be interpreted as a reflex of the difficult relationship which existed between Munster (and in particular Meic Carthaig) and Osraige throughout the greater part of the twelfth century.

§§ 27-30 Cellachán now becomes the victim of a Viking plot. The Vikings offer him Béinn, the daughter of Tuirgeis, and invite him to come to Dublin to accept her hand in marriage. This is merely a stratagem to capture and kill him and Donnchad mac Flainn, king of Tara, is party to this because Cellachán refuses to pay him tribute. The Munstermen agree to his going. He abandons his own plan of going to Dublin in full military order in favour of Cennéitig's suggestion that he should go with 80 Munster princes whilst the rest of the troops remained behind to guard the province. On the outskirts of Dublin Cellachán encounters the wife of the leader of the Vikings who, because she is in love with him, secretly warns him of the plot. He and his followers take the woman with them and they decide to avoid the city and plunder the surrounding countryside. When the Vikings hear this they set off, horse and foot, in pursuit of Cellachán and soon overtake them.

Donnchad Donn mac Flainn, Clann Cholmáin king of Tara, who reigned from 919 when he succeeded Niall Glúndub until his death in 944, was a very able and violent king. As we have already seen, Cellachán was engaged in struggles with the Uí Neill in the early years of his reign (those which correspond to the regnal years of Donnchad) and this passage may contain memories of these events. The suggestion that Donnchad was an ally of the Vikings (§§ 27, 91) is of course tendentious. For the rest, these chapters contain little that can be described as historical.

§§ 31-42 Various bands of Cellachán's followers guard the rear of his force, engage in a running battle with the Vikings and are slain. Eventually (§ 35), they are overpowered and Cellachán and Donn Cuan mac Cennéitig are captured and taken to Dublin. When they reach the green of the city, the heads of the slain are shown to Cellachán who identifies them one by one and laments their deaths.

These chapters are of interest mainly for the long list they contain of Munster dynasts slain in the encounter: *Áedh mac Domnaill Hui Fhaelain*. As we have seen (p. 19

above), Áed is unknown to the genealogists and would have lived some two generations later than Cellachán. His correct style would be *Áed mac Domnaill meic Fáeláin* or *Áed ua Fáeláin* but the author of CCC is attracted by the patronymic common in his own day.

*Domnall Ua Neill Mhuighi da chonn.* Mag dá chonn is now Moyacomb partly in the barony of Shillelagh, Co Wicklow and partly in the barony of Rathvilly, Co Carlow. He is referred to as (gen.) *Domhnaill í Neill Bhuighe* in the verse (§ 42). His home territory lies outside Déisi and outside Munster. The only Niall among the Déisi from whom Uí Néill could be descended is Niall mac Láegaire meic Brain (Lec. 101 V c 47; cf. p. 19 above) but I have no evidence that there were Uí Néill amongst the Déisi who traced their ascent to him. There were other groups of Uí Néill among Dál Cais, among Uí Rónaile (Lec. 228 R d 3 = BB 187 a 10 = UM 31 R c 3) and among Uí Thairdelbaig (Lec. 226 R b 18 = BB 183 ba 50 = UM 28 V b 32 = UM 29 V b 5), but these were of little consequence. However, four Uí Neill Buide of Dál Cais were slain at the battle of Móin Mór and O Donovan identifies them with Uí Néill Buide of Clann Delbaíth in Tradraige.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, the passage may contain some confused memory of the battle of Ráith Étair, near Dublin, in 1087 in which Ua Néill of Mag dá chonn was slain.

*Aedh mac Donnchada meic Caeim.* See p. 16 above. *Sbelan mac Suilleabain.* He is referred to in the verse (§ 42), mistakenly I think, as *Suibne . . . mac Suilliobhain, Suibne . . . Ó Mhaoliúra*. His father, Súilleabán, we have already encountered (p. 9 above) and there is some reason to believe that he was a contemporary of Cellachán.

*Muirchertach mac Muirchertaigh.* Cellachán says that 'the women of Múscrige will keen' him (§ 37). In fact, he belongs to Múscrige Trí Maige (LL 323 gb 47; Lec. 107 R c 6). His father, Muirchertach, died in 1029 and his grandfather, Muiredach, died in 1010. Clearly, he could not have been a contemporary of Cellachán.

*Aengus mac Assida.* There are two persons who bear the relatively rare name Assíd in the Munster genealogies at this period. Assíd mac Máel Chríchi (R 150 b 22), father of Rígbardán who, as we have seen (p. 10 above), may have flourished about 960. Aengus, were he a son of this Assíd, would have flourished about the same time. The second is

<sup>46</sup> O'Donovan, FM ii 1099.



Assid mac Síta in Eich Buide of Uí Chaisséne, ancestor of the important Dál Cais family, Meic Con Mara (R 153 b 5). It is clear from § 37 that a son of this man is intended though the implication that he belonged to *Clanna Cairthinn Finn* is, strictly speaking, in error. In the genealogical schema (R 152 a 41 = Lec. 224 V a 1 = BB 182 a 1 = UM 28 V a 1) Clann Óengusa and Uí Thairdelbaig (the main line of Dál Cais) trace their ascent to Cáirthenn Finn and thence to Blat mac Cais; Uí Chaisséne trace their ascent to Caisséne mac Cais. There is however a Cáirthenn (though not Cáirthenn Finn) in the Uí Chaisséne ascent (R 153 b 7) who may have caused the confusion. Menma, grandson of Assid and king of Uí Chaisséne, was slain in 1014. Áengus, a generation his senior, could well have been a contemporary of Cellachán. It is clear from this section and from § 49 that the author of CCC is anxious to associate Cellachán with Uí Chaisséne and Meic Conmara. *Donnchadh mac Conchobair*. He is son of Conchobar, king of Ciarraige Luachra, and, as we have already seen (p. 22 f. above), it is doubtful if either he or his father had anything whatever to do with Cellachán.

*Fiangal mac Congail*. See p. 21 f. above.

*Cu Dubh mac Failbe*. Failbe Finn, ancestor of Uí Failbe, and Congal (p. 21 above), king of Corcu Duibne, who died in 989, are both sons of Ánrothán (LL 324 g 5). Failbe's son, Crínán, king of Corcu Duibne, died in 1027. It is most improbable that Failbe should have been a contemporary of Cellachán and virtually impossible that Cú Dub should have been such.

*Donnchad mac Muirchertaigh*. He belongs to Éoganacht Locha Léin, the later dynastic family of which descends from Muirchertach. The early text of the genealogy extends to Máel Dúin († 833); the late text (UM 28 R ba 11), which is the pedigree of the Uí Muirchertaigh, is badly spliced to this and makes such poor chronological sense that we must suspect serious manipulation or at least syncopation. The text is therefore worthless for determining the historicity of Donnchad mac Muirchertaigh. The reference to Éoganacht Locha Léin as *Clanna Cairbri Cruithnigh* is insulting<sup>47</sup> and, as we have seen above (p. 20),

<sup>47</sup> O'Brien (1962) 195-6; *Anecd. from Irish Mss* iii 57-63 = PMLA 62: 887-909. F. J. Byrne, 1973, *Irish kings and high-kings* (London: Batsford) 193-6. The tradition that Éoganacht Locha Léin were descended from a Pictish woman was sedulously cultivated by the eastern Éoganacht as propaganda against their great rivals, Éoganacht Locha Léin. It is interesting that such insults should be repeated for very similar purposes in the twelfth century.

there were good grounds for such insults from the Meic Carthaig in the twelfth century.

*Finn mac Etersceoil*. He belonged to Corcu Lóegde (Lec. III R a 11, III R ba 31, 113 R ba 38; *Misc. Celt. Soc.* 16, 18). Again, the Corcu Lóegde and Uí Etersceoil pedigrees are in confusion and very few of the persons mentioned in them can be identified or dated. The writer's purpose again seems to be that of bringing Cellachán into contact with the eponym of the later family. It is not at all unlikely that he had before him a text of the Uí Etersceoil genealogy identical with that preserved in Lec. III R ba 31.

*Aedh mac Ségda*. He is described in the verse (§ 42) as *deaghmach rígh Maighe cCoinchinn*. He belonged to Áes Irruis Deiscirt of Corcu Duibne. I have been unable to discover an early pedigree of the Uí Ségda and I can only speculate that they may be descended from Ségda mac Duib dá barcc of Áes Coinchind (Lec. 108 V a 45) who may have flourished in the early tenth century.<sup>47a</sup>

In the verse there is reference to a son of Rígbardán (p. 10. above) who was slain in the same encounter but his further name is not given.

Of the twelve slain dynasts mentioned by name, only one, Aedh mac Donnchada meic Caeim, is known from the surviving genealogical tracts. This may be accidental since the genealogical tracts are extremely thin in materials for the tenth century but I cannot escape the suspicion that they exist only in the imagination of the author of CCC for the express purpose of bringing Cellachán into close relations with the ancestors of important families. This appears all the more likely when one realises that eleven out of the twelve dynasts are sons of eponyms of the families prominent in the twelfth century and of importance, as the annals show, in the affairs of Meic Carthaig.

§§ 43-44 Sitriuc states the terms of Cellachán's ransom: the *éraig* of every man killed in the fifteen battles which he won over them, the *éraig* of Tomar Iarla and of the 1,200 men slain by Olchobar mac Cinnaedha in the battle of Sciath Nechtain, the return of Limerick, Cork, Waterford and Cashel to Viking control, and the son of each king and

<sup>47a</sup> There are late pedigrees of the Uí Ségda in MS 103, University College, Oxford, which I have not examined.

lord of Munster as hostages for the fulfillment of these conditions. Cellachán is then allowed consult with Donn Cuan and with Aistrechán mac Ailgisaig in order to convey these conditions to the Munstermen. Sitriuc informs Cellachán that he is to be held prisoner at Armagh and Aistreachán is despatched to Munster.

The fifteen battles won by Cellachán (§§ 8-19, 20-2, 23, 25-6, 47) have already been discussed (p. 25 above) and, as we have seen, most of them were victories over his Irish fellow-kings. The battle of Sciath Nechtain, already mentioned in the king-list (§ 2), is recorded in the annals under the year 848. AU, which have the more detailed entry, record the slaughter of Tomrair Erell, *tánaise ríg Laithlinne*, and 1,200 of his followers but *Ann. Inisf.* are somewhat less detailed and do not give the numbers of the slain. *Cogadh* § 21, here clearly dependent upon the annals, contains most of the annalistic detail including the number of the slain but omits the name of the Viking leader. And this latter piece of information does occur in CCC. The question is: did the author of CCC derive his information from *Cogadh* or from one of the annalistic collections? On balance, it would seem that his source is ultimately the annals but it is doubtful if he derived his information directly from the annals or had an annalistic collection at his disposal. Ólchobar mac Cináeda, who died in 851 was abbot of Emly and king of Munster. He belonged to Éoganacht Locha Léin.

For the Vikings and Armagh, a tradition most probably derived from *Cogadh*, see p. 56 below.

#### §§ 45-6

Aistrechán is to go to Munster and instruct the Munstermen not to meet Sitriuc's conditions. They are rather to defend Munster and enking Cennéitig mac Lorcáin. The Éoganacht are to make a good 'rising out' and Donnchad mac Caeim is to lead the host to Armagh to Cellachán's rescue. There follows a long and important list of the Munster rulers and families who are to go on the expedition.

The list is long and full of detail and an analysis of its contents throws some light on the methods of the author of CCC:

*Donnchad mac Caeim meic Airt meic Cathail* and *Clann Echach*. We have already encountered this dynast (p. 16 above). He is king of Éoganacht Glendamnach and one of Cellachán's closest allies, as indeed his descendants, the



Uí Chaírm were amongst the closest allies of Meic Carthaig in the twelfth century. The description of Éoganacht Glendamnach as Clann Echach is a reference to Echu (later Eochaid) mac Óengusa (R 148 a 44, b 2, b 33) to whom they traced their ascent and who is the apical ancestor of Éoganacht Glendamnach and Éoganacht Airthir Cliach.

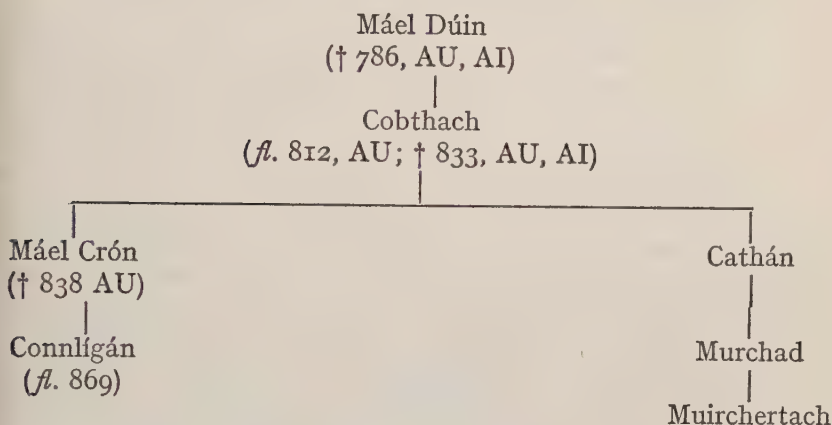
*Mael Fothartaigh mac Floinn, Suilleban mac Mael Ugra and Clanna Finghin.* With these two one should also take the next name mentioned in the text, *Donnchad mac Duineachaid meic Fhianghusa*, who also belongs to Cenél Fíngin and whose name seems to have slipped out of its proper place. These persons represent the three main branches of Cenél Fíngin (R 150 b 6–19), one of the two dominant segments of Éoganacht Chaisil. Máel Fothartaig mac Flainn, who died in 957, was Cellachán's successor in the kingship of Munster. His son, Dúngal mac Máel Fothartaig Huí Donnchada died as king of Cashel in 1025. Máel Fothartaig, tenth in descent from Fíngin, is an exact contemporary of Cellachán and in the tabular pedigree of Éoganacht Chaisil (R 150 b 6) his name is last but one. Súillebán mac Máel Ugra we have already encountered (p. 9 above). As we have seen, he is the contemporary of Cellachán in a generation-count though it must be noted that he is eighth in descent from Fíngin whilst Máel Fothartaig († 957) is tenth. Súillebán's is the last name in the tabular pedigree of his line (R 150 b 15) and he is also the eponym of the Uí Súillebáin (UM 28 R b 28, *Leabhar Muimhneach* 218), Donnchad mac Duineachaid meic Fiangusa, the representative of the third branch of Cenél Fíngin, is brother of Domnall who appears in the genealogies (R 150 b 17) and son of Duinechaid whom we have already encountered (§ 7). As we have already seen (p. 10 f. above), his inclusion here is wildly anachronistic: he is sixth in descent from the apical ancestor whilst his alleged contemporaries, Máel Fothartaig and Súillebán are tenth and eighth respectively.

*Ribardan mac Aissidha ⁊ Donnchad mac Domnaill ⁊ Donnchad mac Lorcain ⁊ Domnall mac Cathail ⁊ Eigirtach mac Cormaic ⁊ Cu Calma mac Cind Faclair . . . Cuilen mac Aindiarraid and Clanna Failbe.* All these dynasts belong to the second great division of Éoganacht Chaisil, Clann Faílbe to which Cellachán himself belongs and which traces its ascent to Faílbe Fland mac Áeda Duib (R 150

b 19). Clann Fálbe is divided into two main groups: Clann Donngaile which traces its ascent to Donngal mac Fóelgusa meic Nad Froích and Cenél Conaill (including within it the distinct families, Clann Chóellaide, Clann Láegaire, and Clann Cherbaill) which traces its ascent to Conall mac Snédgusa meic Nad Froích. Rígbardán mac Aissída we have already encountered (pp. 9, 10 above). Here he is the representative of that branch of Clann Donngaile which produced Dúnchad mac Duib dá bairenn, king of Munster who died in 888. He is, of course, the ancestors and eponym of the Uí Ríoghbbhardáin (*Leabhar Muimhneach* 217 § 58). Donnchad mac Domnaill is to be identified with Donnchad mac Domnaill of Clann Donngaile (R 150 b 25). According to Version I of the Éoganacht Chaisil pedigrees he is seventh in descent from Donngal whilst Cellachán is fifth. We have no criteria for determining his *floruit* but it seems unlikely that he was a contemporary of Cellachán. It is to be noted that he is the terminal personage in the pedigree of his family (R 150 b 25) and no further descendants of his are recorded. The remaining Éoganacht Chaisil dynasts mentioned here belong to Cenél Conaill. Donnchad mac Lorcáin seems almost certainly a son of Lorcán mac Connligáin though he is not mentioned in the surviving genealogical tracts. According to the king lists, his father, Lorcán, was king of Cashel between the reigns of Flaithbertach mac Inmainéin († 944) and Cellachán († 954). What may, perhaps, be a reference to Connligán occurs earlier (§ 7; p. 11 above). Lorcán mac Connligáin is the terminal person in the genealogy of his family (R 150 b 38). Domnall mac Cathail belonged to the same family and was a second cousin of Donnchad mac Lorcáin. It is to be noted that Domnall is the terminal person in the tabular pedigree (R 150 b 40). Écertach mac Cormaic belongs to Clann Cherbaill of Cenél Conaill (R 150 b 41) and again his name is the last in the tabular pedigree. His son, Conall, who is entitled *rígdamna Caisil*, was slain in 1027 and it is possible that Écertach was a junior contemporary of Cellachán. Cú Chalma mac Cind Fáelad belongs to Clann Láegaire of Cenél Conaill and in the extant genealogies his name is the terminal name in the pedigree (R 150 b 43). On a generation-count, he is an exact contemporary of Écertach's son, Conall († 1027) and a generation later than any of the Cenél Conaill dynasts mentioned in the present

list. It is most unlikely then that he was a contemporary of Cellachán. Cuilén mac Aindiarriad belongs to Clann Chóellaide. We have already encountered him (§ 7; p. 11 above) as one of the 'electors' of Cellachán and, by mistake, as lord of Éoganacht Ua Cathbath and Uí Luigdech Éile (§ 20; p. 14 f. above). Again, he is the last person of his line in the extant pedigree (R 150 b 45).

*Muirchertach mac Murchada*. I suspect that the phrase *7 tabrad Eoganacht Locha Lein leis* may have been lost after *Murchada*. Muirchertach belongs to Éoganacht Locha Léin:



We have already encountered his son, Donnchad (§§ 31-42; p. 28 above). If we were to judge from the genealogies, Muirchertach should have flourished in the middle or late ninth century but as we have seen there is every good reason to suspect the accuracy of the genealogies. Muirchertach, though not the terminal person in any extant genealogy, is the eponym of the Uí Muirchertaig, kings of Loch Léin in the twelfth century.

*Fogartach mac Fianamla* and *Uí Muiredaig*. Fogartach is the terminal personage in the tabular pedigree of the Uí Muiredaig (R 150 b 46), a family which traced its ascent to Daig, son of Corcc mac Luigdech (R 148 a 30). The eponym is Muiredach, third in descent from Corcc. No person in the Uí Muiredaig pedigree is dated: on a generation-count, Fogartach is twelfth in descent from Corcc whilst Cellachán is fifteenth but in this case such methods of computation are worthless.

*Domnall mac Diarmada*. I cannot identify this dynast. The only major Éoganacht dynasty absent from the present list

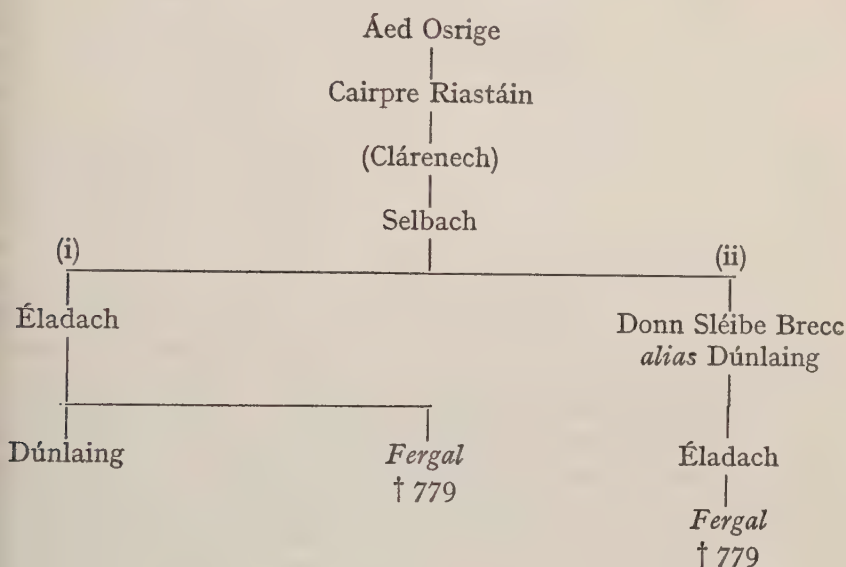


is Éoganacht Áine (R 154 d 1, LL 327 c 1, Lec. 214 R a 15). They appear at Armagh (§ 54) however and I can merely hazard the guess that the author of CCC intended him to be their representative. If so, there is neither a Domnall nor a Diarmait in the extant Éoganacht Áine pedigrees. If he is to be taken with the Éoganacht Airthir Cliach dynasty (below) the same problem arises: he is unknown to the genealogists.

*Fiana mac Feicine, Cuanachtach mac Con gan mathair and Éoganacht Airthir Cliach.* Fiana mac Feicine is to be identified with Fiannamail mac Fiachnae (Fechín, LL) of Éoganacht Airthir Cliach (R 150 a 13). There is a good deal of confusion in his pedigree but it may, I think, be corrected as follows: *Fiannamail mac Fiachnai (vl. Féchín) meic Brain meic Mathgamna meic Conaill meic Cormaic meic Crimthainn meic Echach.* If this is correct, his inclusion here is wildly anachronistic. He is seventh in descent from Echu, apical ancestor of Éoganacht Airthir Cliach and Éoganacht Glendamnach. On a generation-count based on a comparison with the dated line of Éoganacht Glendamnach he is a contemporary of Cathal mac Finguine († 742) or, if we stretch the possibilities, of Finguine († 695/6) or Artrí mac Cathal (793–821). Cuanachtach also belongs to Éoganacht Airthir Cliach (LL 326 f 52; Lec. 215 V ba 39). He is fifth in descent from the apical ancestor, Echu, and on a generation-count he is a contemporary of Cathal Ólach († 628) or, if we extended the possibilities, of Cú cen máthair († 665/6) or Finguine († 695/6). A generation count based on the collateral Fergus Scandal († 583) gives a somewhat similar result. The whole of the surviving Éoganacht Airthir Cliach genealogies stop short in the mid-eighth century. It would seem that the author of CCC had no better sources at his disposal than these, that he chose two terminal persons in the pedigrees (? at random), and drafted them as leaders of Éoganacht Airthir Cliach in the expedition to Armagh.

*Conaing mac Larchadha and Uí Chathbaidh.* Conaing belongs to Éoganacht Ua Cathboth (R 150 a 18, a 23, Lec. 218 V b 46). For their relationship with the Éoganacht and their position within the genealogical schema, see p. 14 f. above. No person in their genealogical tracts is dated in the annals but if we may judge from the type and form of the names and the length of the pedigrees

they extend no later than the eighth century at most. Conaing is a terminal personage in the tabular pedigree. *Fergal mac Elaigh* and *Clanna Sealbaigh*. Fergal belongs to Cenél Láegaire of Éoganacht Raithlind (R 150 a 22). The form *mac Elaigh* is a slip for the *mac Éladaich* (*Élathaig*) of the genealogical tracts. The genealogies of Éoganacht Raithlind are in a state of great confusion and two separate descents can be devised for Fergal:<sup>48</sup>



We are fortunate in having an annalistic *obit* for Fergal: he was king of Dessmumu and died in 779 (AU). Again, his is the last name in the tabular pedigree of Éoganacht Raithlind (R 150 a 22). Later pedigrees occur in the twelfth century manuscripts (R 150 a 25) and there are extensive if contradictory materials in the later genealogical tracts but these are ignored for the moment by the author of CCC who seems to have had little taste for this sort of research. (Cf. § 46.)

*Anmchadh mac Dunchada*. It is likely that the phrase  $\gamma$  *tabrad Uí Liathain leis* has been lost after *Dunchada*. Anmchaid belongs to Uí Liatháin (R 151 a 48), a dynastic group whom the genealogists falsely link to the Éoganacht

<sup>48</sup> The reason for this confusion is clear enough. After the death of Fergal, king of Dessmumu, in 779, this dynasty passed into decline and so did its pedigrees. It becomes important again from the last decades of the tenth century with the rise of the ancestors of the later Uí Donnchada.

stem. Anmchaid died as king of Uí Liatháin in 750 (ATig). Again, it is to be noted that Anmchaid's is the last name in the tabular pedigree (R 151 a 48). Seven of his sons, including Cináed (king of Uí Liatháin, 790, AU) are recorded in a later part of the genealogy but the author of CCC ignores them (and their descendants, if later pedigrees were at his disposal).

*Flannabra mac Airindan meic Flannabra* and *Uí Chonaill*. As we have seen above, Flannabra mac Ciarmacáin is the correct form of the name and it is very likely that he was a contemporary of Cellachán (p. 23). It is to be noted that his is the last name in the tabular pedigree (R 152 a 4).

*Ceithernach mac Ceileachair meic Comáin*. He belongs to Uí Chormaic (R 152 a 16; cf. UM 28 R d 47), a discard segment of Uí Fidgente (Uí Chonaill Gabra and Uí Chairbre) in the genealogical schema. Ceithernach's ascent is traced through eight generations to Cormac, the eponym, who is fourth in descent from Fiachu Fidgenid. The family is referred to as *Í cCormuic ón tuinn* in the verse (§ 45), a probable reference to their settlement in the barony of the Islands, Co. Clare. According to the annals (AU, ATig.) Ceithernach's father died in 705. He himself therefore would have flourished in the mid-eighth century. As usual, his is the last name in the extent tabular pedigree of the Uí Chormaic. The later genealogical tract (UM 28 R d 47) which traces the ascent of the Uí Aichir to the Uí Chormaic stem is either ignored by the author of CCC or was unknown to him.

*Ceann Faelad mac Dubhdaboirenn* and *Uí Chairbre*. Cenn Fáelad was king of Uí Chairbre and died in 774. He was the son of Dub dá bairenn († 751) mac Áeda Róin meic Éoganáin († 667) meic Crundmaill († 649). Significantly he is the terminal personage in the tabular pedigree of the Uí Chairbre (R 152 a 20). The author of CCC seems to have forgotten at this point that he has already had Cellachán slay Uaithne mac Cathail, king of Uí Chairbre and grandson of Cenn Fáelad in the genealogical schema (§§ 23-5; p. 22 above).

This list is not simply a text full of the grossest anachronisms: it is an achronological catalogue of representatives of the Munster dynasties drawn from the Éoganacht genealogies and, as we shall see later, the author of CCC follows his sources slavishly not only in content but in



the matter of order. He does however reject some of the less distinguished groups whose pedigrees are connected with the Éoganacht and who appear in their genealogical tract: Uí Meicc Brócc (R 150 a 46), Uí Meicc Iair (R 150 b 2), Cerddraige Tulchi Gossa (R 150 b 22), Uí Fiachrach Oeli (R 150 a 28), Uí Dedaid (R 151 a 32) and Gabraige (R 151 a 40).

§ 46

Further instructions are given Aistrechán. He is to go to Cennéitig mac Loicáin, king of Dál Cais, and tell him to remain behind to defend Munster so that the Connachta may not plunder it. Uaithne and Urmumu are to come into the host. He is to go to the Éile and tell them to guard the border of Munster and tell their lord, Cerbhall mac Dublaidhi meic Ceannamhain, that his dynastic kinship with the Éoganacht goes back to Ailill. He is to go to the Osraige and tell them to guard Munster from Sliab Bladma to the sea and the Éile are to guard it as far as Sliab Bladma as they usually do. The Déisi and the Múscrige are to join the host. He is to go to the admirals of the fleet of Munster—Flann, Eterscel and Cobthach, the three kings of Corco Laighdhi, Dubh dha boirenn, king of western Uí Echach, Seghdha, Failbhe and Conghal, the three kings of Corco Duibhne, Concubar mac Meic Bethaid, king of Ciarraigi Luachra, Domnall and Baiscinn, the two kings of Corco Baiscinn, and Conchobar and Lochlainn, the two kings of Corco Mruadh—and have them assemble the usual levy, ten ships for every *trícha cé*t. These are to go to Sruth na Maeile and, if Cellachán is taken out of Ireland they are to go to his rescue abroad.

This list completes the levy of Munstermen which Cellachán requires to rescue him. Dál Cais, Éile and Osraige are cast as the defenders of Munster whilst all the other peoples are to man the expedition.

Again, most of the persons mentioned in the list are achronological representatives, usually eponyms, of the peoples summoned to go on expedition rather than actual Munster kings of the mid-tenth century. Cerball mac Dublaidhi, king of Éile, could have been a contemporary of Cellachán. His genealogy seems reliable enough though the form of his name in CCC represents a further corruption of the already corrupt forms of the genealogists (R 150 a 33, Lec. 223 V b 13, UM 33 R bb 44, Mac Firbis 664a).

His son, Gilla Pátraic, king of Éile, died in 1022 (AU, *Ann. Inisf.*) and what may be the *obit* of his grandfather is recorded for 908 (FM 903 = 908). He may have flourished in the mid-tenth century but undoubtedly the attraction for the author of CCC is the fact that he is the eponym of the Uí Cherbail, the dominant dynasty in Éile in the twelfth century. The dynastic kinship (*bráithir*) which Cellachán lays stress on belongs to the common teaching of the genealogists which makes the Éile ascend to Tadhg mac Céin, a son of Ailill Ólom, ancestor of the Éoganacht and Dál Cais.

All the admirals of the fleet, with one exception, are eponymous ancestors of Munster families prominent in the twelfth century. Flann, Cobthach and Eterscél are the eponyms of the three principal families of Corcu Lóegde, Uí Flainn, Uí Chobthaig and Uí Etersceoil. The Corcu Lóegde genealogies (R 155 a 3, Lec. 110 V c 1, UM 34 R a 62) contain a great deal of very ancient material in a few recensions of different date which are run together to form a composite text but they are of little value in determining the exact origin and identity of the later dynastic families. Flann, or as the genealogists call him, Flann Arda, belongs to Uí Flainn Arda of which he is the eponym (Lec. 112 V d 36 = UM 34 V a 50 = *Misc. Celt. Soc.* 44). Bruatar mac Dúnlainge of Uí Flainn Arda died in 860 (FM) and Flann Arda is fifth in ascent from him in the genealogy. This however offers us no chronology whatever since the genealogy itself is a palpable fiction, an aetiological piece devised to explain the inter-relationships of the local gentry in Túath Uí Duib dá leithe of Corcu Lóegde in the twelfth century (Lec. 113 R c 32 = UM 34 V d 42 = *Misc. Celt. Soc.* 54f.). Cobthach, or Cobthach Find as the genealogists call him, is clearly the eponym of Uí Chobthaig of Corcu Lóegde. Their genealogy (*Misc. Celt. Soc.* 58), a late pedigree it would appear, links the eponym directly to the main line of Corcu Lóegde, ascending to Conall Clóen and thence to Mac Niad (R 153 a 3 = Lec. 111 V b 13 = UM 34 R a 63). If we may judge from the phrase *Cobthach . . . mac Meic Nioth Moir do Clannuibh Itha* (§ 70) the author of CCC had a genealogical text such as this before him. I can date none of the persons in the Uí Chobthaig genealogy and therefore I have no chronology for Cobthach. Eterscél has already made his appearance in the text as father of Find who was slain in the course of

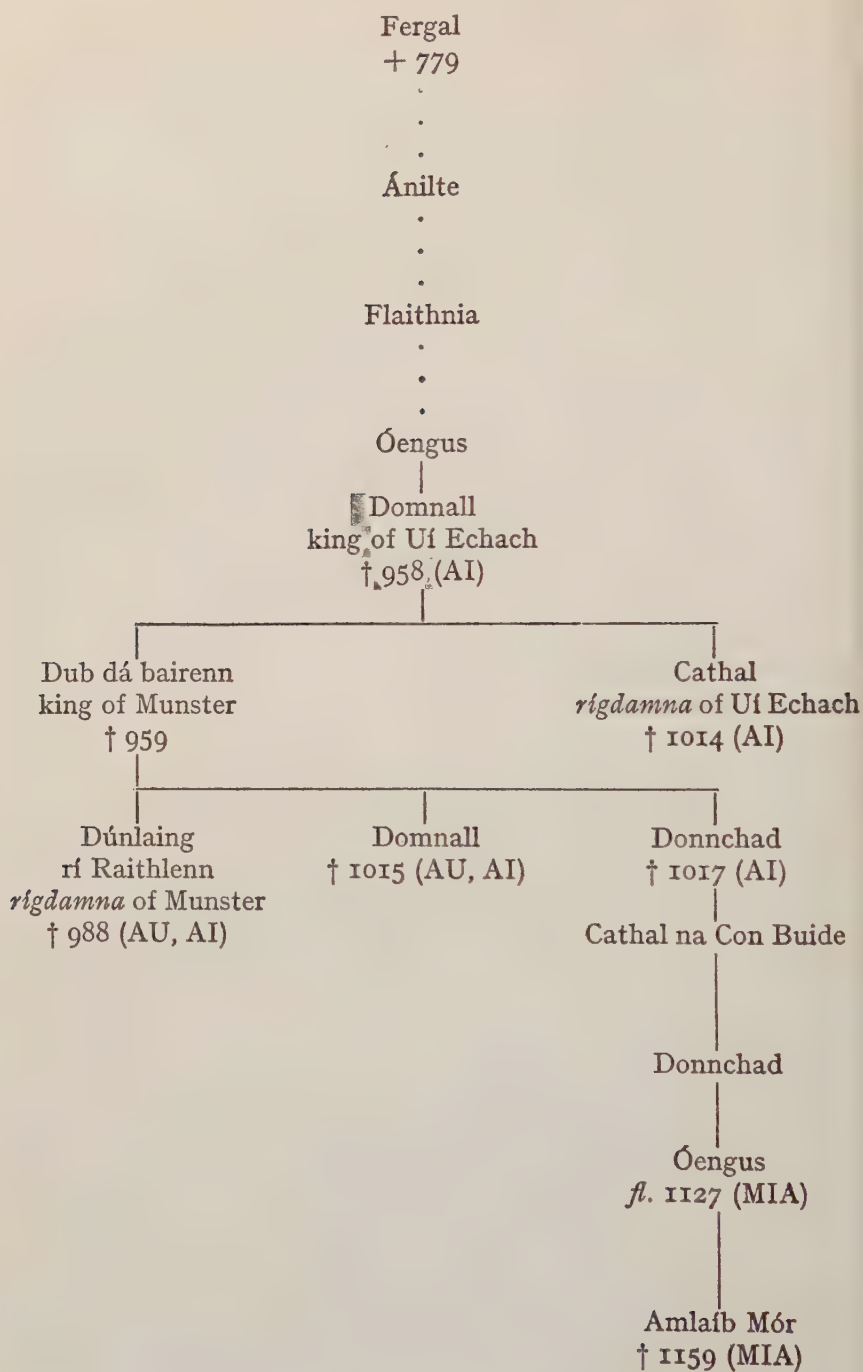
Cellachán's expedition to Dublin (§§ 31-42; p. 29 above). Eterscéil appears in the genealogies of the Uí Builg as eponymous ancestor of the later dynastic family, Uí Etersceoil (Lec. 111 Ra 15, b 30, 113 R a 9, R c 39, *Misc. Celt. Soc.*, 16-8; cf. R 155 b 8, UM 34 R d 43). If Find mac Nuadat of the genealogists were identical with Find mac Mutáin of the annalists (AU, FM) who died in 944 we would have a date for Eterscéil in the late tenth century, for Eterscéil, according to the genealogists, is a son of Find. This, however, is speculation. These three leaders are slain in the naval battle of Dundalk (§§ 63, 66, 70, 89).

Dub dá bairenn, described in the text as *riġh Iarġhair O nEchach* (§ 46) and later as *oirri O nEchach* (§ 71), belongs to Uí Echach of Éoganacht Raithlind and is of the same family as Fergal mac Ela[ath]aigh whom we have already encountered among the landforces (§ 45; p. 35 above). As we have seen, the Éoganacht Raithlind genealogies, early and late, are hopelessly confused but with the aid of the annals the skein can be unravelled to a degree. The following reconstruction is based primarily on the annals but of necessity the genealogies (R 150 a 25; Lec. 215 V c 41; *Leabhar Muimhneach*, 222) have been used with caution.<sup>49</sup> (see next page)

Dub dá bairenn, then, is to be identified with Dub dá bairenn mac Domnaill, king of Munster second in succession to Cellachán, who died in 959. His son, Dúnlaing, described as *rí Raithlenn* and *riġdamna* of Munster, died in 988. In CCC Dub dá bairenn takes part in the sea-battle off Dundalk but whilst the prose (§ 71) does not tell of his death the verse seems to imply that he was amongst the slain (§ 89). This is quite unhistorical for, as we have seen, Dub dá bairenn survived Cellachán and ruled Munster after him. A grosser anachronism is implicit in the text as a whole. Dub dá bairenn was at least fifth in descent (for the pedigree seems to be syncopated) from Fergal mac Élathaig, the leader of the landforces of Uí Echach. Dub dá Bairenn mac Domnaill is ancestor of Uí Donnchada and his son, Donnchad, is their probable eponym. But his name also bears the

<sup>49</sup> Dotted lines represent descents which are patently false or syncopated. The confusion in the tenth-century portion of the pedigree seems to be as much due to confusion between similar names (and perhaps scribal dittography and haplography) as to falsification. For deliberate manipulation of the Uí Donnchada pedigree for political purposes, see D. Ó Corráin, 1969, 'Later Éoganacht pedigrees' in *JCHAS* 74: 142-3.





eponym of the little-known Uí Domnaill who were extremely active as leaders of the Uí Echach naval forces in the twelfth century (*Ann. Inisf.* s. aa. 1127, 1128; *Misc. Ir. Ann.* s.a. 1128; cf. *Ann. Inisf.* s.a. 1066 which records the death of Loingsech Ua Domnaill, king of Uí Echach). There is a late, short and corrupt genealogy of the family in the poem of Cathán Ua Duinnín (*Leabhar Muimhneach*, 182) and it seems to have sunk into insignificance after the twelfth century. It is evident that in this case also the author of CCC was attracted by the eponym of an Uí Echach family prominent in the naval warfare of south and west Munster in the early twelfth century.

We have already encountered Ségda, Fáilbe and Congal, the three kings of Corcu Duibne. Congal mac Ánrotháin, king of Áes Irrais, is one of the kings defeated by Cellachán in his circuit of Munster (§ 22). His son, Fiangel, was amongst those slain in the expedition to Dublin (§§ 31-42) but through an oversight of the author of CCC he reappears at Dundalk and is again slain (§§ 75-6, 85). As we have seen (p. 21 above), Congal is a historical character and eponym of the Uí Chongaile, who died in 989. Fáilbe, called Fáilbe Find by the genealogists and referred to in CCC as *Faílbbi ri Corca Dhuibhni* (§ 85), is a brother of Congal and eponym of the Uí Fáilbe of Corcu Duibne. His son, Cú Dub, was slain on Cellachán's expedition to Dublin (§§ 31-42). Ségda is the eponymous ancestor of the third great division of Corcu Duibne, Uí Ségda. According to CCC his son, Áed, was slain on the expedition to Dublin (§§ 31-42). There is no good reason then for believing that there is any truth in the story told in CCC, that all three of these kings were slain in the sea-battle after a heroic struggle with the Vikings (§§ 63, 72-7, 85, 89). Further, the tripartite division of Corcu Duibne envisaged by the author of CCC cannot have come into existence until much later than the tenth century for it presupposes mature dynastic segments descended from Congal and Fáilbe. In fact, the tripartite division reflects the political situation in Corcu Duibne in the early twelfth century.

Conchobar mac Meic Bethad, king of Ciarraige Luachra, has already appeared in the text as one of the kings defeated in the course of Cellachán's royal circuit (§§ 23-5) and as the father of Donnchad mac Conchobair who was slain on the expedition to Dublin (§§ 33, 40, 42). As

we have seen (p. 23 above), Conchobar was not a contemporary of Cellachán and the fact that he is the eponym of Uí Chonchobair, the twelfth-century rulers of Ciarraige, led to his inclusion. Corcu Baiscind, as we have seen (p. 24 above), was divided between two royal segments Uí Nó, from whom the Uí Domnall descend, and Uí Décce. The two kings, Domnall and Baiscinn represent these two segments. Domnall is to be identified with Domnall mac Diarmata meic Flainn (Lec. 109 R a 44 = BB 147 e 1), king of Corcu Baiscind, who died in 1014. His brother Dúnadach, also king of Corcu Baiscind, died in 992. Most probably, he was Cellachán's junior by a generation. Later in the text (§§ 64, 79–80), his father Diarmait, who may well have been a contemporary of Cellachán, is silently substituted for him. Far less can be discovered about Baiscinn, who belonged to the rival Uí Décce line. Three of his great-uncles, Cermait († 864), Flann († 898) and Lennán († 915), are recorded as kings of Corcu Baiscind and this should give him a computed *floruit* of *ca.* 950. He and Domnall (*alias* Diarmait) take part in the naval battle: Domnall is slain but Baiscinn survives. Here again, the division of the kingdom reflects a state of affairs subsequent to the middle of the tenth century.

Conchobar and Lochlainn are the eponymous ancestors of the two main segments in Corcu Modruad in the twelfth century. Both are sons of Máel Sechnaill mac Argdda (R 161 a 23, Lec. 121 R d 41, 121 V d 48, 122 R a 40). As we have seen, Lochlainn, who is entitled *rigdamna* of Corcu Modruad, died in 983. The genealogists explicitly state that he was a contemporary of Cellachán (Lec. 121 R b 5; see p. 24 above). This is not impossible but it may be argued that CCC and the genealogical tract are interdependent at this point. Conchobar was king of Corcu Modruad as early as 993 and he died in 1003. These well-founded annalistic dates make nonsense of the claim of CCC, that these dynasts were killed at the naval battle of Dundalk (§§ 63, 81–2, 89). Again, the division of Corcu Modruad between Uí Lochlainn and Uí Chonchobair is a reflex of the political situation in the twelfth century.

The peoples mentioned in this list as sea-going peoples were such traditionally and they played an extremely important part in the wars of the twelfth century as



naval powers subject to the kings of Munster. There are references in the annals to the fleet of Desmond (e.g. *Misc. Ir. Ann.* 1124); the Uí Muirchertaig of Éoganacht Locha Léin are engaged in constant naval activity in west Munster (*Ann. Inisf.* s.a. 1125, 1126); Ua Conchobair Chiarraige has a fleet on the Shannon estuary about Inis Cathaig (*Ann. Inisf.* s.a. 1127); Uí Lochlainn of Corcu Modruad have fleets on the coast of Clare (ATig, FM s.a. 1132); and in his wars against Connacht Cormac Mac Carthaig made extensive use of the fleets of Uí Echach and Corcu Lóegde (*Misc. Ir. Ann.* s. aa. 1132, 1133). Again, the use of a naval arm as a support for land-forces is a common practice of twelfth-century Irish kings. Such strategy was used to devastating effect by Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, in his war against Munster. Cormac Mac Carthaig replied in the same vein in 1132 when he led the land-forces of Munster on an attack on Connacht from Athlone and despatched Uí Echach and Corcu Lóegde simultaneously with the fleet of Munster to attack Connacht from the west coast and destroy the castle of Galway. It seems very likely indeed that the background to the narrative in CCC is to be found in these very campaigns of Cormac Mac Carthaig.

8 47

Aistrechán goes to Cashel and relates the story of Cellachán's adventures and gives his instructions to the Munstermen. Donnchad mac Caeim then addresses the host. He asks Dál Cais to make a friendly alliance with the Éoganacht and asks the Munster families to make a 'rising out' to rescue Cellachán, saying that were their own leaders in the hands of the Vikings Cellachán would go to their rescue. He then recites a list of Cellachán's victories over the Vikings.

Donnchad's address to the Munstermen is delivered in genealogical terms and he refers to the various families by their remote ancestors. The term Clanna Éogain is used as a blanket term for all the Éoganacht and for the peoples whom the genealogists attach to the Éoganacht stem, Uí Liatháin and Uí Fidgente (Uí Chonaill Gabra and Uí Chairbre). Clann Chormaic Chais is of course Dal Cáis. Clanna Cairbre means the Múscrige who trace their ascent to Cairbre Músc (LL 323 f 6) and Corcu Duibne whose ascent is traced to the late and fictitious Corc Duibne, son of Cairbre Músc (LL 324 g 2). The term

Clann Luigdech means the Corcu Lóegde who are descended in the genealogical scheme from Lugaid mac Ítha (R 155 a 3) and here it probably includes the Uaithne who in late tradition are made to descend from Lugaid (Lec. 112 R c 46; for a variant tradition, see R 155 b 52, Lec. 113 V a 10). By Clanna Fergusua we are to understand the Ciarraige and Corcu Modruad who in the genealogical schema have Fergus mac Róich as their remote apical ancestor (R 157, 33; 158, 47; LL 336 f 15; Lec. 121 V a 24; 122 R a 39 etc.). Clanna Ceallacháin of the text raises difficulties. I suspect that we could extend the word as Clanna Cellaig and link it with Donnchad mac Cellaig (§ 26) and take the expression to mean Osrige. It may of course be a slip for Clann Chondla (R 125 b 25), a name by which the Osrige are sometimes known. Clanna Taidg are the descendants of Taidg mac Céin, apical ancestor of the Éile, Cianachta and Gailenga (R 153 b 50). In the present context it means the Éile. Clanna Fiachach Suigde are the Déisi who trace their ascent to Fiachu Suigde, son of Feidlimid Rechtaid, and thence to the prehistoric Uí Néill pedigree (R 154 d 11; LL 327 g 1). Here again we find the author making use of the list of the muster to air his genealogical learning.

The list of Cellachán's victories over the Vikings has already been the subject of discussion (p. 25 above).

## § 48

The land-forces assemble at Mag Adair, the naval forces at Bél Átha Laigin and Cennéitig mac Lorcáin entertains them. Both these places are within the Uí Briain sphere of influence. Mag Adair was the sacred inauguration site of Dál Cais<sup>50</sup> and Bél Átha Laigin lay in Mag (or Túath) Gláe in Corcu Modruad and may be identical with the present Ballylaan on the north shore of Liscannor Bay.<sup>51</sup>

## §§ 49-50

Cennéitig wishes to go on the expedition but he is dissuaded from doing so on the grounds that he must remain behind to defend Munster. Instead he sends 2000 extra troops of Dál Cais under the command of his three brothers, Coscrach, Lonngarcan and Congalach. He also sends Assidha mac Assidha with 500 men of Clann Cairtinn and Deghadh mac Domhnaill meic Duinn with 500 more.

<sup>50</sup> Now Moyare in the parish of Clooney, Co. Clare. The sacred tree of Mag Adair was torn down by Ua Conchobair in the twelfth century.

<sup>51</sup> TCD H. 3. 17, 752, 846. This can scarcely be the Bel Atha Lighean of AU, A. Conn. s.a. 1419.

He then instructs the hosting to enking Donnchad mac Caeim as leader of the expedition and encourages him by reciting to him the list of the eleven kings of his race who were kings of Munster.

According to the genealogists, Cennéitig had three brothers, Coscrach, Londgargán and Congalach, ancestors and eponyms of three dynastic families in Dál Cais (R 152 b 25; Lec. 224 V b 45 = BB 182 b 19 = UM 28 V a 55 = UM 29 R b 4). Of these the Uí Choscraig were extremely important but the others were inconsequential and the descendants of Londgargán in particular are not to be confused with the important ecclesiastical family descended from Londgargán, son of Donn Cuan mac Cennéitig.

Assidha mac Assidha should read Assíd mac Síta, known as Síta in *Eich Buide* of Uí Chaisséne, a dynastic family of Dál Cais on occasion second only in importance to the Uí Briain, who became known in the twelfth century by the patronymic Meic Con Mara. As we have already seen (§ 33; p. 26 ff. above), a son of this dynast, Áengus mac Assída, was slain on Cellachán's expedition to Dublin and it is not unlikely that Assíd and his son were contemporaries of Cellachán. Deghadh (older form Dedad) mac Domnaill belongs to another segment of Dál Cais known variously as Áer Iar Forgus and Cenél Fermaic. He is the ancestor and eponym of the later dynastic family Uí Dedaíd (R 153 b 17; Lec. 228 R a 50 = BB 186 ac 51 = UM 32 R a 5 = UM 31 V bb 52). In the older version of the pedigree (R 153 b 17; UM 31 V bb 52) Dedad is the terminal name in the pedigree. Bugge's editorial suggestion that Dedad was of the Éile (§ 49 text and translation) is simply a misreading which he corrects in the notes (p. 153).

The list of kings of Éoganacht Glendamnach who were kings of Munster is another display of genealogical learning. In effect, it is a pedigree for only two persons in the lists, Áed and Fland Cathrach, are not regarded as kings of Munster in the king-lists and the list itself gives a straight Éoganacht Glendamnach descent from Óengus to Airtí mac Cathail. The early genealogy (R 148 b 1) and it would seem the older poem attributed to Luccreth moccu Chiara (R 148 b 30) regard Áed and Fland Cathrach as two distinct persons but the later genealogies (LL 320 c 44; UM 28 R a 37) and the later copies of the early text (Lec. 214 R b 29 = BB 172 b 42) read Áed Fland Cathrach



as one person. Here the author of CCC follows the early text. *Cathal* γ *Cui gen mathair* is a scribal slip: the text should read *Cathal .i. Cú cen máthair*, an emendation which saves the reckoning of eleven kings of Munster from Óengus to Donnchad. One may hazard the guess, then, that the author of CCC had two texts of the Éoganacht Glendamnach genealogies before him (as had the scribes of LL and UM): an early pedigree such as that in R 148 b 1 but which descended one generation further and a late pedigree which was identical for practical purposes with that in UM 28 R a 37.

§§ 51-2 The expedition sets out and spends its first night at Áth na Ríg. Next day the host marches to Sliab Cain and pitches camp. The host is joined by three bands who say they are Munstermen though the Munstermen themselves do not immediately recognise them as such. These are the Gailenga, Luigne and Delbna led by their kings Aed mac Dualascaigh, Diarmait mac Finnachta and Donnchad mac Mael Domnaill.

Again the genealogies hold the key to this incident. Gailenga, Luigne and Delbna are considered by the genealogists to be of Munster origin though living outside Munster and are called *Clanna Ébir i Leith Chuind*. They trace their genealogical ascent to Ailill Ólom and thus in the prehistoric genealogical schema they share an ancestor with Dál Cais and Éoganacht. Whether this genealogical connection was of any practical significance in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries when the Munster kings were dominant in the greater part of Ireland is a matter of doubt but in an age when everything was grist for the political mill it is not unlikely that appeal was also made to dynastic kinship real or imagined. A very similar incident occurs in *Cogadh* § 51 in which Cathal mac Feradaig and the Delbna come to the aid of Brian and Mathgamain in their hour of need for precisely the same reason: dynastic kinship. So similar are the incidents that it is probable that the author of CCC is imitating *Cogadh* at this point. Of the three kings, all of whom I have no doubt are genuine personages, I can identify only one. Diarmait mac Finnachta belongs to Luigne Connacht and is the terminal person in the early pedigree (R 145 d 1). His father, Finnachta, king of the Luigne of Connacht, died in 879 (AU) and it is just possible that Diarmait

could have been an elder contemporary of Cellachán. Áed mac Dualascaig probably belongs to the branch of the Gailenga settled in Mayo and Donnchad mac Máel Domnaill to one or other of the several branches of the Delbna settled in Connacht<sup>52</sup>.

53

They march northwards over Es Dara, Droichet Matra, across the rivers of Sligo, keeping to the west of Benn Gulban, across the Dubh, the Drobais and Mag nEne to Ess Ruaidh. They then raid Cenél Conaill. Muircertach mac Airnelaig, king of Cenél Conaill, pursues them and demands that they restore the plunder. They refuse and in revenge Muircertach sends word to the Vikings at Armagh that the Munster host is on its way and he advises them to withdraw with Cellachán to Dundalk. This they do, leaving behind the Vikings of Armagh (Lulach, Amhlaibh, Lagmann, Turcaill, Gilla Ciarain mac Henruc in tsenrigh and Oitir Dubh) with 500 men.

The route here described is the common medieval route into Cenél Conaill and western Ulster. It bears a close resemblance to the route taken by Brian in his attack on the north in 1006 as described in *Cogadh* § 78 which may indeed have been the model for CCC.<sup>53</sup>

Muirchertach mac Airnelaig could not have been king of Cenél Conaill at this time. His correct descent is Muirchertach mac Cind Fáelad meic Airnelaig and he belonged to Cenél Lugdach of Cenél Conaill (R 144 f 7). His son, Dálach, king of Cenél Conaill, died in 870 (AU) and his grandson, Égnechán, also king of Cenél Conaill, died in 906 (AU). It is therefore impossible that he should have been a contemporary of Cellachán. In fact, we know from the annals that Máel Coluim Ua Canannáin, who died in 957, ruled Cenél Conaill in the time of Cellachán. In the conclusion of CCC supplied from 23 H 18 Cellachán revenges himself on Muirchertach (§ 100) but there is no mention of this incident in the Lismore text (§ 90).

For the Viking leaders, see p. 53 ff. below.

§ 54-57 The Munstermen march to Armagh and arrive at the south side of the city which is held by the Vikings. They make a four-point attack: Dál Cais, Gailenga, Luigne and Delbna

<sup>52</sup> P. Walsh, 1940, 'Connacht in the Book of Rights' in *JGHS* 19: 1-15.

<sup>53</sup> It is to be noted that *Cogadh* § 78 itself bears a remarkable resemblance to the entry FM s.a. 1005 [= 1006] which is stated in the text to be an extract from the Book of onmacnoise and the Book of the Island of the Saints in Loch Ribh.

from the west, Uí Chonaill Gabra, Uí Chairbre, Uí Meic Caille and Uí Liatháin from the north, the Éoganachta (Éoganacht Chaisil, Éoganacht Áine, Éoganacht Glendamnach, Éoganacht Chliach, Éoganacht Durlais, Éoganacht Locha Léin and Éoganacht Raithlinn) from the east and the Déisi from the south. They leave the Múscraige, Uaithne, Fir Maige and Uí Chuanach in reserve. They take the city. Next morning they seek for an Irishman in the city. Eventually one is found and he informs them that the Vikings have taken Cellachán off to the ships at Dundalk.

The strategy adopted is not simply a military plan: it is a genealogical schema. All the Éoganacht are placed together; in the attack from the west the Dál Cais are grouped together with those peoples who claimed genealogical affiliation with them; the attack from the north is carried by four groups who stand in exactly the same relationship to the Éoganacht in the genealogical scheme; the Déisi, acting as military allies of the Éoganacht, attack from the south; and the reserves are peoples who claim no kin relationship whatever with the Éoganacht. And though it is evident that the author appreciates the advantages of a four-pronged attack, it is clear that he is an armchair strategist working from genealogical materials.

§§ 58-65 The Munstermen march to Dundalk but the Vikings evade them by putting their ships to sea. They seek to ransom Cellachán but the Vikings refuse and lash Cellachán and Donn Cuan to the masts. Donnchad mac Caeim then recites a lay to Sitric, leader of the Vikings. There follows an exchange between Cellachán and Donnchad in which Cellachán says that Cashel without an Éoganacht king would be harder for him to bear than his present tortures and he blesses Dál Cais here and in the poem which follows (§ 60) for coming to his rescue. He asks the Munstermen if they have brought a fleet and when he sees the fleet approaching he recites a poem in which he rehearses some of the previous events and compliments Dál Cais. Sitric asks the names and reputations of the men in the ships; Duinechaid mac Fiangusa acts as intermediary (§ 61) and an order of combat is arranged. Lochlannach na Lann, in Lochlannach Ladhach and Sen-Amlaibh, referred



to as *tri coimhedaigi Corcaighi* 'the three guardians of Cork' (§ 63), are to encounter Flann, Cobhthach and Eidirscel, the three kings of Corcu Lóegde<sup>54</sup>, because they plundered Inis Clere. Lenn Turman na hUídhí is to meet Dubh da bhoirenn, king of Western Uí Echach because he slew his son, Aed. Sitriuc, Tor and Magnus, the three sons of Tuirgeis, meet Segda, Failbhe and Conghal of Corcu Duibne because they plundered Sceilic Mhichil. Mac Rígh Finnlochlan is measured against Conchobar, king of Ciarraige Luachra, because he plundered Ard Fothaigh Brenaind. Lenn Turmun na Pers is pitted against Diarmaid and Baiscinn, the two kings of Corcu Baiscinn, because he plundered Inis Cathaig. Finally, Rí Fuarlochlan is matched with the two kings of Corca Mruadh because he plundered Aran. The Irish sea-forces are assembled in geographical order (§ 65) and in a poem addressed to the Irish forces, Duineachaid rehearses the order of combat (§ 66).

It is notable again that the author of the text goes to inordinate lengths to flatter Dál Cais. It is also clear that the arrangement of the sea-battle has a geographical and genealogical basis. The kings of Corcu Lóegde encounter the Cork Viking leaders because, it is alleged, they, they plundered Clére. Here we may have a genuine historical memory though of the eleventh century. In 1013 a Viking fleet, probably from Dublin, sailed southwards along the coast, burned Cork and attacked Clére and was defeated with the slaughter of its leaders by the Uí Echach Muman.<sup>55</sup> The annals do not associate the Corcu Lóegde with this event nor are the Vikings of Cork mentioned in this context. In the reference to the plundering of Scelec we probably have to do with the Viking attack on Scelec in 824 when Étgál was carried off.<sup>56</sup> Reference is also made to this event in *Cogadh* which indeed may be the source used by the author of CCC at this point.<sup>57</sup> In the case of the Ciarraige, Ard Fothaigh Brenaind, which is otherwise unattested, must surely be read as Ard Ferta Brénainn though we have no annalistic reference to a Viking attack on it. However, the Vikings were extremely active in Ciarraige as the annals and

<sup>54</sup> *Corca Duibne* of the text (§ 63) is simply a scribal slip.

<sup>55</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1013; CS s.a. 1011 [= 1013]; FM s.a. 1012 [= 1013].

<sup>56</sup> AU, Ann. Inisf. s.a. 824.

<sup>57</sup> *Cogadh* § 18.

especially *Cogadh* record<sup>58</sup> and indeed the latter source may have inspired the author of *CCC*. Inis Cathaig, in the Corcu Baiscinn area of influence, was plundered on a number of occasions. It was plundered in 974 by Magnus son of Aralt, with forces from the Isles.<sup>59</sup> It was attacked in 1057 by the Viking forces of Diarmait mac Maíl na mBó in the course of a war against Munster<sup>60</sup> and a great deal of it was destroyed in the course of a raid in 1101.<sup>61</sup> Again, as in the case of Inis Cathaig, Aran was plundered early in the eleventh century by Viking raiders from the Hebrides.<sup>62</sup> It is unlikely that the author of *CCC* had access to annalistic material in compiling this list. Some items seem to derive from *Cogadh* whilst others could derive from traditional memory or indeed contemporary events. It might be added that sporadic Viking raids, if we may judge from the annals, were not at all infrequent in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

§§ 67–87 The hosts prepare themselves for battle in the heroic manner (§§ 67–8). The kings of Corcu Lóegde, here called kings of Uí Luigdech, slay their opponents but are slain by them (§ 69) and a poem is sung lamenting their fall (§ 70). Dubdhabhoireann and the Uí Echach fall upon their opponents (§ 71). The Corcu Duibne kings lash their ships to those of their opponents, and Failbe, having rescued Cellachán, is himself slain (§§ 72–4). Fiangel, who can be none other than the Fiangel mac Congail already slain at Dublin (§ 41), urges on the host, sings a lay of lament for Failbe (§ 75), drags Sitric overboard and they are both drowned (§ 76). The Corcu Duibne pour into their enemy's ship which sinks and all are drowned (§ 77). The king of Ciarraige Luachra slays his opponent but is slain by him (§ 78) and is lamented in a poem (§ 79). Likewise, the Corcu Baiscinn slay their opponents but Baiscinn survives (§ 80). The Munster fleet comes to land at high tide and the Vikings depart (§ 83). Cellachán laments the fall of his rescuers, Failbe and the Corcu Duibne, in prose (§ 84) and in verse (§ 85). Cellachán and Donn Cuan welcome the fleet ashore and Donnchad mac Caeim laments the deaths of the kings

<sup>58</sup> *Cogadh* §§ 13, 20, 22, 25, 26, 29.

<sup>59</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 974; FM s.a. 972 [= 974].

<sup>60</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1057.

<sup>61</sup> AU, Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1101.

<sup>62</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1015.

(§ 87). Next day the Munstermen bury their dead and Donnchad mac Caeim recounts the battle and praises the heroes in verse (§§ 88-9).

The protagonists of the battle have already been identified and as we have seen the background to the struggle is the naval warfare of the early twelfth century. It is to be noted at this point that the text is probably a conflation of a number of different recensions. In §§ 83-5 the Munster fleet comes ashore and Cellachán laments the fall of Failbe. It is again brought ashore in § 86; Cellachán laments the fall of the warriors and Donnchad mac Caeim sings a lay (§ 87). Again, at the end of § 88 it is stated that Donnchad's final poem (§ 89) is *in laid ar deireadh in sceoil* though the text continues with the adventures of the Munstermen in Dublin and Leinster. It is possible that one version of CCC ended with the victorious sea-battle at Dundalk.

§§ 90-94 The Munstermen burn their own fleet and the captured Viking ships, hold a council of war and set out for Dublin, after considering and rejecting a route through Connacht and Meath (§§ 90-1). They plunder the entire territory from Dundalk to Dublin (§ 92). A plot by the women of the Vikings to bring about Cellachán's death fails (§ 93). The Munstermen arrive in Dublin, collect the booty of the city, select wives from among the women of the Vikings and, after a stay of a week, they burn the city and set out (§ 94).

The decision to avoid a route through Connacht reflects not any strength of Connacht in the tenth century but the dominant position of Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair in the early twelfth century. Again, the taking of Dublin echoes the importance of the city in the twelfth century and particularly its importance in the policies of the Uí Briain. The city fell to Diarmait mac Maíl na mBó in 1052 and with his death in 1072 it passed into the Uí Briain sphere of influence. Tairdelbach Ua Briain made his son, Muirchertach, king of Dublin in 1075 and with some breaks it remained within the control of the Uí Briain until 1118 when Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair attacked the city, freed the hostages of the north who were kept there by Uí Briain, and expelled Domnall, son of Muirchertach Ua Briain, who had governed the city for his father. In 1125, Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair made the king of



Leinster ruler of Dublin and later replaced him with his own son, Conchobar. Cellachán's taking of Dublin may well be a reflex of these events and an Éoganacht claim to the same dominance over Dublin as that possessed by the Uí Briain.

§§ 95-9 When the Munstermen arrive at the eastern end of Mag nAlmaine they encounter five battalions led by Murchad mac Finn, king of Leinster, with his three brothers, Donnchad, Find and Aedh, and by Conghal mac Laisigh, king of Laidhis Laigen, Donnchad mac Aedha, king of Fotharta Laigen, Muirchertach mac Tuathail, king of Uí Mail, Concubar mac Donnchada, king of Uí Failge and Bran Bherba mac Amhalghaidh, king of Uí Buide and Uí Bairrche.<sup>63</sup> They demand Cellachán and Donn Cuan as hostages. If these are refused they threaten battle. The Munstermen refuse and prepare for battle. Cellachán urges them, since he himself is not allowed to fight, to avenge well the death of Cormac mac Cuilennain on the Leinstermen. He died forty two and a half years before, according to the text. The Munstermen prepare for battle. At this point the text breaks off.

The choice of the site of the battle is deliberate for the battle is seen as a reverse of the defeat suffered in 908 at Belach Mugna, in the same area, by the Munstermen led by the Éoganacht king, Cormac mac Cuilennáin. It is possible that at this point the author of CCC may have had before him (or at least was acquainted with) the saga of Belach Mugna which is preserved only in later form.<sup>64</sup>

Murchad mac Finn, Uí Fáeláin king of Leinster, ruled from 966 until his death at the hands of a rival dynast in 972. His inclusion here is anachronistic since he could not possibly have been king of Leinster in Cellachán's lifetime. I cannot trace Congal mac Laidsig, king of Loígis. Here, presumably, the similarity of the name Laidsech and Loígis together with the occurrence of this rare name in the Loígis genealogies attracted the author of CCC. Donnchad mac Áeda, king of Fotharta, is otherwise unknown unless he is to be identified with Donnchad mac Áeda meic Tressaig of Uí Bairrche (R 117

<sup>63</sup> MS: *ri Omuigi 7 O Mairgi*.

<sup>64</sup> For details of the battle, see AU, Ann. Inisf. s.a. 908; CS s.a. 907 [= 908]; A. Clon. s.a. 987 [= 908]; FM s.a. 903 [= 908]. There is good reason to believe that the annalistic entries are heavily influenced by the saga of Cormac and the battle of Belach Mugna. Cf. FM ii 564-9.

a 31). Muirchertach mac Tuathail, king of Uí Maíl is puzzling. Here no doubt we have reference to Uí Thuathail, the dynastic family sprung from the Uí Muiredaig, one of the three main branches of the ruling dynasty of north Leinster. Tuathal mac Augaire, from whom the dynastic family is named, died in 958 and here again the author of CCC is clearly attracted by the eponym. It is not unlikely that the text at this point should read: *Muirchertach mac Tuathail ri* [O Muiredaig 7] O Mail. Conchobar mac Donnchada, king of Uí Fáilge, appears neither in the annals nor in the regnal list of the king of Uí Fáilge.<sup>65</sup> Two tenth-century kings of Uí Fáilge bore the name Conchobar: Conchobar mac Mael Céin, who died in 938 (AU) and Conchobar mac Finn, who died in 979 (AU). The present Conchobar may be a mistake for any one of these. On the other hand, it is very likely that the author of CCC was simply attracted by the eponym of the Uí Chonchobair, who ruled Uí Fáilge in the twelfth century. I know nothing of Bran Berba mac Amalgada, king of Uí Buide and Uí Bairrche.

§ 100

This section of the printed text provides the alternative ending from the paper manuscripts. Cellachán causes the fleet to be burned and the Munster forces decide to attack Cenél Conaill and they plunder that territory widely. They proceed from there to Tara where they offer battle to Donnchad mac Flaind, king of Ireland. He declines. They plunder the area about Tara. Cellachán returns to Cashel where he rules peacefully until his death in 952.

As we have seen, Donnchad mac Flaind was king of Tara from 919 until his death in 944 (§ 27), but Muirchertach could not possibly have been king of Cenél Conaill in the lifetime of Cellachán (§ 53). The date of Cellachán's death as given in the text is wrong. He died in 954.

#### 4. The Vikings and CCC:

In his Introduction to the text Bugge lays stress on the real Norse names which occur in the text<sup>66</sup> and he concludes that 'a saga of

<sup>65</sup> Best, Bergin and O'Brien, 1954, *The Book of Leinster* I (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies) 186-9.

<sup>66</sup> Bugge's assertion that the names E(i)ric (< O.N. *Eiríkr*) and Turmun (< O.N. *Þormundr*) are found uniquely in CCC is not entirely correct. For other exx. see AU. s.a. 1103 and FM s.a. 1140.

this description cannot be semi-historical but must be historical'.<sup>67</sup> It remains to show that we have little warrant for placing any trust in CCC as a source for the Viking period. The first Vikings we encounter in the text are the four Limerick leaders: Amhlaibh Luimnigh (§§ 8, 12), slain by Cellachán (§§ 15, 19); Morann (§§ 8, 12) called *ua righ ... Fuarlochlainn* 'grandson of the king of Cold Lochlainn' (§ 10) and *mac righ loingsi Leoghasa* 'son of the fleet-king of Lewis' (§ 16), a *crích Leoghus Lochlonnaig* 'from the territory of Viking Lewis' (§ 19), slain by Suilleban (§§ 16, 19); Magnus of Limerick (§§ 8, 12) slain by Donnchad mac Caeim (§§ 17, 19); and Lochlainn of Limerick (§§ 8, 12) slain by Ribhordan (§ 18). In the verse recapitulation, Ribhordan is credited not with the slaying of Lochlainn but of Morann mac Connra (§ 19). Bugge maintains that there were two separate persons called Morann i.e. Morann of Lewis and Morann mac Connra. Since the poem (§ 19) distinguishes them and the prose (§§ 16–8) does not, he regards the verse as superior to the prose.<sup>68</sup> All the Limerick Vikings are described by the generic name Clanna Connra (§§ 8–12). The phrases: *Morann mac Connra creachaig | d'fhorthuaith Eogain airbrethaig* (§ 19) simply means that Clanna Connra were regarded as a stranger-folk within the the sovereignty of Éogan Mór i.e. Munster. Bugge's claim that this line proves that 'the tribe of which the sons of Connra were lords lived among the Eoganachts in the county of Kerry and that they were descended from Viking settlers who had organized themselves as an Irish clan' is nonsense.<sup>69</sup> When we turn to the contemporary annals we find no trace of these personages. Tomrair mac Ailche (Elgi) is the first Viking closely associated with Limerick and he was active in the years from 922 to 924.<sup>70</sup> The next lord of Limerick is Colla mac Barith who was active on Lough Ree in 924 and who died in 932.<sup>71</sup> Another Limerick leader, Imar, led his Viking forces into Mag Roigne is Osraige in 931.<sup>72</sup> Amlaíb Cennchairech of Limerick was active about Athlone in 933 and ranged widely in Connacht in 936 from a settled base on Lough Ree. From this base he joined forces with the Vikings of Dublin in 937.<sup>73</sup> Aralt (mac Sitrioca) ua hÍmair, lord of the Vikings of Limerick died in 940.<sup>74</sup> The next Viking leader mentioned in the annals is Imar Luimnigh who slew one Beolán Lítíl in 969.<sup>75</sup> Magnus mac Arailt

<sup>67</sup> Bugge (1905) xi.

<sup>68</sup> Bugge (1905) xiv, 126, 128, 130.

<sup>69</sup> Bugge (1905) 130.

<sup>70</sup> AU, Ann. Inisf. s.aa. 922, 924.

<sup>71</sup> FM s.a. 922 [= 924]; CS s.a. 931 [= 932].

<sup>72</sup> FM. s.a. 929 (= 931)

<sup>73</sup> FM s.a. 931 [= 933]; 934 [= 936]; 935 [= 937].

<sup>74</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 940; FM s.a. 938 [= 940].

<sup>75</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 969.



(possibly a son of Aralt ua hImair) with Vikings from the Isles captured him in 974 and three years later he and his two sons, Amlaíb and Duibcenn, were killed by Brian Boru on Scattery Island.<sup>76</sup> None of these Viking leaders, amply attested in the annals and contemporaries or near contemporaries of Cellachán, appear in CCC. Their places are taken by personages otherwise unknown. The Amlaíb of the text may be a vague memory of Amlaíb Cennchairech but it must be remembered that Amlaíb is one of the commonest Viking names in Ireland. Magnus may be the Magnus mac Arailt of the annals but it is more likely that here we have either a memory of Magnus Barelegs and his connections with Uí Briain or a reference to the MacMagnuses of Limerick, who seem to have survived into the reign of king John.<sup>77</sup> The name Lochlainn, from Lochlainn (Laithlind), may be sufficient in itself to explain the existence of Lochlainn of Limerick. I have seen no other reference to Morann and the description of him as 'the grandson of the king of Cold Lochlainn' does little to inspire confidence in his existence.

It is interesting to note that in the description of the attack on Cork (§ 20) no Viking leaders are mentioned by name. Later in the text we are given the names of three Cork Vikings: Lochlannach na Lann, In Lochlannach Ladhach and Sen-Amlaibh, who are described as *tri coimhedaigi Corcaighi* 'the three guardians of Cork' (§ 64). They are mentioned earlier as being among the Vikings who withdraw to Dublin after Cellachán's victorious campaigns (§ 27). They are engaged by the three kings of Corcu Lógde because they raided Inis Clére (§ 63) and they and their opponents slay each other in battle (§§ 69-70). These names, it must be admitted, appear quite un-historical and would be much more at home in a romantic adventure than in a sober narrative. Information on Viking Cork is extremely slight and one can scarcely avoid the conclusion that it was a Viking settlement of little or no importance in military or political matters. For the entire Viking period the annals record the name of only one Cork Viking leader, Gnimbeolu *alias* Gnimcionnsalaigh who may well be the figment of a storyteller's imagination.<sup>78</sup> The reference to the plundering of Clére may, as we have seen, be a confused memory of the events of the year 1013 when the Uí Echach Muman, not the Corcu Lógde, drove off Viking raiders.

In the attack on Waterford no Viking leader is mentioned other than Sitriuc mac Tuirgeis who belongs elsewhere (§ 22). The annals tell a different story. Mac Acuind 'son of Haakon', leader of the Vikings of Waterford, was an ally of Cellachán<sup>79</sup> but he does not appear in CCC.

<sup>76</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a.a. 974, 977; A. Tig. s.a. 977.

<sup>77</sup> E. Curtis, 1938, *History of medieval Ireland* (London: Methuen) 7, 9, 405.

<sup>78</sup> FM s.a. 865 [= 867]; *Three frags.* 166, 168.

<sup>79</sup> FM s.a. 937 [= 939].

There remain the Armagh Vikings and those of Dublin. Those of Armagh are Lulach, Amhlaibh, Lagmann, Turcaill, Gilla Ciarain mac Henruc in tsen-righ and Oitir Dubh (§ 53). Firstly, there is no annalistic evidence whatever to indicate that Armagh, often raided by the Vikings,<sup>80</sup> was ever turned into a Viking colony as the text of CCC clearly indicates at this point.<sup>81</sup> None of the Vikings here mentioned appear in the annals with the possible exception of Ottir Iarla *alias* Oittir mac Iargna who left Ireland in 918.<sup>82</sup> Significantly, two of the Armagh Vikings, Ottir Dubh and Gilla Ciarain, are mentioned in *Cogadh* as being amongst those slain at Clontarf (§ 117) and if we read *Amhlaibh* 7 *Lagmann* as *Amlaib mac Lagmain* he too was slain at Clontarf (§ 117). It seems that CCC is borrowing from *Cogadh* at this point. A far more general dependence on *Cogadh* is evident in the whole treatment of the Vikings. They are referred to in general as *Clann Turgheis* (§ 53) and *Clanna Tuirgeis teas is tuaid* (§ 29) and their outstanding leader is Sitriuc mac Tuirgeis. He opposes Cellachán at Waterford (§ 22). He is the leading spirit in the conspiracy and offers Cellachán his sister Bébin in marriage (§ 27). He captures Cellachán and holds him prisoner (§§ 35–42), demands an impossible ransom and incarcerates him at Armagh (§ 43). He is in touch with Cellachán's enemies (§§ 27, 53) and is the commander of the Viking forces in the naval battle (§§ 58–72). He has three brothers, Tor, Magnus and Tuirgeis (§ 27). Tuirgeis makes no further appearance but Tor and Magnus are slain with Sitriuc at Dundalk (§§ 72–5). According to CCC Corcu Duibne engage them because they had plundered Scelec. It would seem that all this material ultimately derives from *Cogadh* and, in particular, from the story of Tuirgeis, as narrated in *Cogadh* §§ 9–14. This story, as can be easily shown, is full of inconsistencies and chronological errors and is simply a piece of twelfth-century propaganda in favour of the Uí Briain.<sup>83</sup> This is the source of *Clanna Tuirgeis* of CCC and of the notion that Armagh was occupied and held by the Vikings. The name Turges appears only once in the uninterpolated Irish annals and it is significantly absent from the annals in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The remaining Viking leaders—Linn Turmun na hUidhi, Linn Turmun na Pers, Mac Righ Findlochlan (called Íolbhrec, §§ 66, 78) and Mac Righ Fuarlochlan—are even more shadowy. According to

<sup>80</sup> AU s.a. 831, 832, 840, 852, 869, 879, 882, 895; FM s.a. 893 [= 898]; AU s.a. 921; FM s.a. 931 [= 933]; AU s.a. 943.

<sup>81</sup> The reference to a Norse community which dominated Armagh and lived under the rule of a 'lawman' (O.N. *Lögmaðr* > Ir. *Lagman(n)*) probably represents the organisation of a subordinate Hiberno-Norse city-state in the twelfth century. The historicity of the Norse domination of Armagh has been accepted by some historians (Jean I. Young, 1950, 'A note on the Norse occupations of Ireland' in *History* 35: 15.)

<sup>82</sup> AU s.a. 918; FM s.a. 916 [= 918]; *Three frags.* pp. 228, 230 [= 918] *Cogadh* § 35.

<sup>83</sup> D. Ó Corráin, 1972, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan) 91–2.

CCC they plundered Ard Fothaigh Brenaind, Inis Cathaigh and the Aran Islands. Here we probably have, as we have seen, confused memories of various Viking attacks on these places in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Needless to say, none of these leaders makes any appearance whatever in the annals and we may well doubt that they ever existed outside the writer's imagination. *Eric ri na nInnse* (§ 44), as Bugge points out, may be identical with the historical Eric Bloody-Axe. It may equally be a coincidence. On the whole, the Vikings leaders mentioned in CCC resemble the shadowy characters of story rather than real historical personages. It is surely significant that as a group they are absent from the annals while the well-attested Viking leaders who were Cellachán's contemporaries are entirely absent from CCC. We are inevitably led to the conclusion that the author of CCC had no access to genuine annalistic sources for Viking affairs of the tenth century. We may not then regard CCC, despite whatever light it may throw on twelfth-century affairs, as being a historical source for tenth-century Viking Ireland.

### 5. *The date and background of CCC*

As has been noted, CCC has been assigned to various dates in the early twelfth century. Ryan would place it earlier than 1118, before the collapse of Uí Briain dominance in Munster because of the undue sensitivity it shows towards the Uí Briain.<sup>84</sup> Dr Hughes argues that since the work places the Uí Briain and the Éoganacht on an equal footing and claims for Cellachán a success almost identical with Brian's, it must be assigned to a date after 1118 when the Meic Carthaig had come to power in Desmond.<sup>85</sup> I feel it can be ascribed more exactly to the years from 1127 to 1134 when Cormac Mac Carthaig was consensus king of Munster. In 1118—and again 1121, 1122, and 1123—Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, intervened in Munster and divided the kingdom between Tadc Mac Carthaig and the two sons of Diarmait Ua Briain, Tairdelbach and Conchobar. Tadc Carthaig died in 1124 and his brother, Cormac, a consistent enemy of Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair, was enkinged with the consent of the leading nobles of Desmond—Ua Mathgamna, Ua Súillebáin, Ua Caím, Ua Muirchertaig and Ua Fáeláin. Cormac had, and was to continue to have, an enemy in his brother Donnchad, who supported Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair and who had a considerable following of discontented Munster dynasts. From the beginning Cormac showed himself to be a leader of outstanding ability. Already in 1124 he was one of the leaders of an interprovincial

<sup>84</sup> Ryan (1941) 91.

<sup>85</sup> Hughes (1972) 299–300.



alliance against Ua Conchobair. In 1125, profiting from dissensions between Tairdelbach Ua Briain, the Ostmen of Limerick and Ciarraige, he seized the kingship of Limerick. The annals do not indicate how long he retained it. When the king of Leinster died in 1126 and when Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair hosted to the borders of Leinster to settle the affairs of the kingdom to his taste, Cormac was the only Munster king to challenge him. He was defeated by Ua Conchobair and his intervention brought Ua Conchobair's vengeance down heavily upon him. In 1127, Cormac was dethroned by Ua Conchobair, banished into retirement at the monastery of Lismore, and his brother, Donnchad, a consistent supporter of Connacht, was made king in his stead. However, there was a sharp and unexpected reaction in Munster which gives some indication of Cormac's standing. Conchobar and Tairdelbach, the two leading Uí Briain dynasts, went to Lismore, came to an agreement with Cormac, and offered him the kingship of Munster. Cormac thus became the first Éoganacht king of Munster since the middle of the tenth century whose claim was not contested by Dál Cais (Uí Briain) and he held this position from 1127 until 1134.

Not only was Cormac undisputed king of Munster in this period but he was successful, as leader of the forces of Munster, in crushing the power of Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair. He expelled his brother, Donnchad, and his supporters (mostly segmentary rivals of Cormac's own followers) from Munster and for the next few years these dynasts harried the coasts of west Munster from the sea though with little significant success. Ua Conchobair's attempts to destroy Cormac failed and in 1132 Cormac and his allies launched a major attack on Connacht. Conchobar Ua Briain penetrated into the heartland of Ua Conchobair's territory. Cormac Mac Carthaig and his ally, Tairdelbach Ua Briain, despatched the fleets of the south to ravage the castle of Galway and west Connacht while they themselves attacked from Athlone. In the course of another expedition, Cormac, accompanied by the three Uí Briain brothers—Tairdelbach, Conchobar and Tadc—penetrated deep into Connacht, ravaged it widely and destroyed two of Ua Conchobair's fortresses. These campaigns were sufficient to bring Ua Conchobair to his knees and in 1133, at the conference of Aball Ceithernaig, he made his peace with Munster. In 1134, Cormac's chapel at Cashel, was consecrated with great pomp by the Dál Cais bishop, Domnall Ua Conaing. Shortly after this event the alliance between Cormac and the Uí Briain broke down. The sequence of events is not at all clear but the details do not concern us here.<sup>86</sup> Immediately a bitter struggle, involving raid and counter-raid broke out in Munster but Cormac held his own

<sup>86</sup> FM s.aa. 1133, 1134; A. Clon. s.a. 1135 [= 1133, 1134]; A.Tig. s.aa. 1133., 1134; CS s.a. 1130 [= 1134]; *Misc. Ir. Ann.* s.a. 1134 [= 1133, 1134].

against the attacks of the Uí Briain. He dealt sharply with restiveness among the Déisi and one source, favourable to Meic Carthaig,<sup>87</sup> claims that he assumed the kingship of Munster and Osraige at this point. Meanwhile, in 1136 and 1137, the Uí Briain continued to blunder Desmond. In 1137, Cormac was involved in the defence of Waterford against Conchobar Ua Briain and his new-found ally, Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster. In 1138, Cormac was murdered treacherously at the behest of Tairdelbach Ua Briain who seized for himself the kingship of Munster. Thereafter, relationships between Uí Briain and Meic Carthaig remained bitter in the extreme.

It is clear then that not only was Cormac the only generally recognised Éoganacht king of Munster in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but he was one of the ablest and most widely respected of the contemporary rulers. The Irish annalists, who rarely moralise about political events, uniformly express shock at his death and an Armagh gospel-book, written in 1138, bears the contemporary comment: *Is mór in gním Cormac Mac Carthaig do marbad ó Tairdelbach Hua Briain*.<sup>88</sup> In addition, he was the friend of St Malachy and of the reformers and a church builder whose patronage was so esteemed that the annalists describe him honorifically as 'bishop of the kings of Ireland'. I suggest it was against the background of Cormac's political career and in response to the remarkable changes in the fortunes of the Éoganacht that CCC was written. It may be noted in passing that most of the political texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—*Lebor na Cert*, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, *Mór-thimchell Éirenn uile*, the saga of Cerball of Osraige as it survives in *Three Fragments*, etc.—and many of the re-workings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of earlier materials are not random products of unworldly antiquarianism but works produced in response to specific political situations. CCC is a prime example of texts of this kind. The sensitivity shown throughout the text to the claims of the Uí Briain, the stress on the dynastic kingship of Éoganacht and Dál Cais (§ 6), the granting to Cennétig mac Lorcáin of the title *tánaise Muman* (§ 26), the enkinging of Cennétig in the absence of Cellachán (§ 46), his counter-promise that he will return the kingship to Cellachán when he is rescued (§ 49), Cellachán's praise of him as a worthy king of Cashel (§ 60), the agreed areas of Éoganacht and Dál Cais influence (§§ 24, 26)—all reflect the diplomacy of the brittle compromise of the years 1127 and 1134. The lists of Munster dynasts reflect the complex relationships evident in the annals between Cormac and the troublesome minor rulers of Munster and is in effect an invitation and an admonition to them, couched

<sup>87</sup> *Misc. Ir. Ann. s.a. 1136.*

<sup>88</sup> Harl. 1802, fo. 50.

in pseudo-historical terms, to support Cormac as their ancestors, carefully listed eponymously, had supported and indeed sacrificed their lives for the great Cellachán of Cashel, Cormac's ancestor. Other events of Cormac's reign—his seizure of Limerick, his involvement with Waterford, his relations with Osraige and Leinster, his enmity towards Connacht, his extensive naval campaigns against his enemies—are echoed in the text. The general purpose of the author is to glorify the Éoganacht and thus Meic Carthaig, to create an historical ambience consonant with their new power and equal to the history which the Uí Briain had created for themselves, and to canvass support for them from the dynasts of Munster. In a word, *CCC* is a piece of political propaganda as sophisticated and diplomatic in intent as it is false and tendentious in historical terms.

### 6. *The source-material used in CCC*

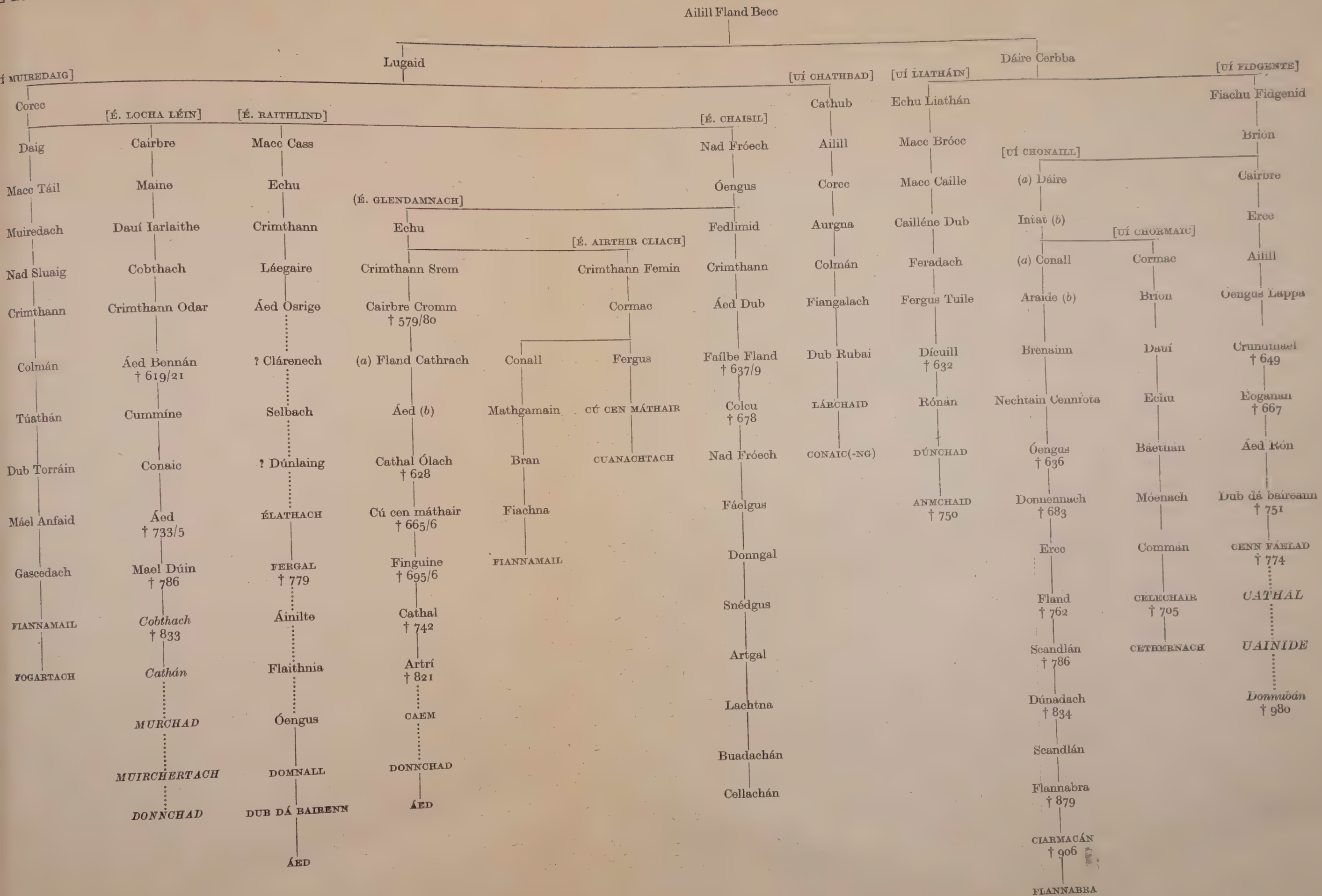
The first and perhaps the most striking aspect of the source-material used by the author of *CCC* is the almost total absence of annalistic material or chronological criteria. This stands in bold contrast to *Cogadh*, the author of which possessed annals from which to make excerpts.<sup>89</sup> It is unnecessary to postulate direct access to annals to account for the references to the battle of Sciath Nechtain (§§ 1, 43-4). The first possibly derives from an annotated king-list. The second, as we have seen derives in all details except one from *Cogadh* § 21. Sciath Nechtain seems to have been regarded as a great Éoganacht triumph and there may well have been stories about it. The references to Donnchad mac Flaind, king of Tara (§§ 27, 91, 93, 100) and, in the text, treacherous opponent of Cellachán, may well contain genuine historical memories of a real hostility but the writer's information is so vague that we may rule out any immediate annalistic sources. His reference to Áed mac Scannail (otherwise mac Scannláin, FM), king of Éoganacht Locha Léin (§ 22), raises some problems. His name occurs, uniquely amongst the annalists, in the Four Masters,<sup>90</sup> he is unknown to the genealogists, and the details provided about him in the Four Masters agree so poorly with those given in *CCC* that one could scarcely postulate interdependence. Again his treatment of the motives of the Munster fleet leaders at Dundalk seems to derive from *Cogadh* and from historical memories of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which may have annalistic records as their ultimate source.<sup>91</sup> It scarcely need be added that there is no evidence that the author of *CCC* had direct access to such sources.

<sup>89</sup> R. H. Leach (1968) 13-21.

<sup>90</sup> FM s.a. 941 [= 943].

<sup>91</sup> P. 50 above.





<sup>1</sup> Names of dynasts in small capitals are associated with Cellachán in CCC. Names in italics do not occur in the twelfth-century genealogies. Names linked (a)-(b) may represent single personages. Dotted lines denote defective pedigrees.



OGAN

James i  
James i  
James i  
James i

Fogart

Flait

DONNO  
LL

FOGERT

Fingui

Catha





Careful comparison of *CCC* and *Cogadh* shows that the author relied heavily on *Cogadh* not only in matters of detail but in his general approach to Viking Ireland. The chronology and description of the Viking wars contain clear verbal echoes of *Cogadh* while the names and activities of the Viking leaders and particularly their dealings with Armagh must derive from the same source.<sup>92</sup> We can only conclude that the author of *CCC* had access to *Cogadh* in one form or another, that he modelled himself on it, in particular in regard to the Vikings, and that he intended to put forward in his own work claims equal to those made for the Dál Cais in *Cogadh*.

However, in the matter of *senchas* or traditional historical materials the author of *CCC* was able to draw on a wide range of materials. He had at his disposal an annotated Munster king-list (§ 2) which differed in some respects from that in *Cogadh* and a list of the kings of Éoganacht Glendamnach (§§ 49–50). He may also have been familiar with the saga of Cormac and the battle of Belach Mugna (§ 98). For the rest, he depended on the genealogical tracts and here he was entirely free of any notions of chronology and slavishly followed the texts which apparently lay before him. This can best be seen in his treatment of the Éoganacht leaders (§ 45). One can see him moving down the early Éoganacht pedigrees selecting personages for inclusion, usually terminal persons in the tabular pedigrees, and rejecting others. In the case of Donnchad mac Caim and Muirchertach mac Murchada he had before him a syncopated late pedigree (= UM 28 R a 37, 28 R c 18). In the case of four other leaders he was able, rightly or wrongly, to extend the surviving early pedigrees (R 150 a 4 = LL 326 f I = Lec. 215 V a 45 = BB 174 d 19 = UM 26 R a 34) by a single generation. For the rest, excepting a few cases, he slavishly follows not only the terminal names of the older pedigrees but adheres closely to the order of names in the genealogical tracts. The following table indicates the sequence:<sup>93</sup>

Máel Fathardaig mac Flaind	R 150 b 7 <sup>94</sup>
Súillebán mac Máel Augrai	R 150 b 15
<i>Donnchad</i> mac Duinechda	R 150 b 17 <sup>95</sup>
<i>Rígbardán</i> mac Assída	R 150 b 22 <sup>96</sup>
Donnchad mac Domnaill	R 150 b 25 <sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Compare *CCC* §§ 1, 2 : *Cogadh* §§ 1, 2; *CCC* § 3 : *Cogadh* § 40; *CCC* §§ 8–9 : *Cogadh* §§ 53–4; *CCC* §§ 51–2 : *Cogadh* § 51; *CCC* § 53 : *Cogadh* § 78.

<sup>93</sup> For brevity sake I give only the references to Rawlinson B 502. References to the parallel texts will be found in O'Brien (1962) 208–34.

<sup>94</sup> He omits Feidlimid mac Crimthainn (R 150 b 11) who was too well-known to be included here.

<sup>95</sup> He naturally omits Cellachán at this point (R 150 b 19). Names shown in italics do not appear in the early Éoganacht tract from which he is excerpting.

<sup>96</sup> He passes over Máel Guala mac Donngaile (150 b 24).

<sup>97</sup> He omits Cenn Fáelad mac Fáelgusa (150 b 27); Forbassach mac Fáelgusa (150 b 28); the well-known bishop Cormac mac Cuileannáin (150 b 28); Finguine mac Láegaire (150 b 31); and Dub Lachtna mac Máel Guala (150 b 35).

<i>Donnchad</i> mac Lorcáin	R 150 b 38
Domnall mac Cathail	R 150 b 40
Écertach mac Cormaic	R 150 b 41
Cú Chalma mac Cind Fáelad	R 150 b 43

At this point, he breaks the sequence to insert the late Éoganacht Locha Léin genealogy of Muirchertach mac Murchada, mentioned above, and he omits the unimportant Cerdraige (R 150 b 46). He continues with Fogartach mac Fiannamla of Uí Muiredaig (R 150 b 46) and he concludes this run with the unidentified Domnall mac Diarmada. Now that he has dealt with Éoganacht Chaisil and the groups associated with them, with Éoganacht Glendamnach and Éoganacht Locha Léin, he returns to the beginning of the early Éoganacht tract (R 150 a 4). At this point, his excerpting is far less detailed. From the eight possible lines of Éoganacht Airthir Cliach, he selects two: Fiannamail mac Fiachnae (R 150 a 13) and Cuanachtach mac Con cen máthair.<sup>98</sup> He passes next to Éoganacht Ua Cathbath and selects Conaing mac Larchada (R 150 a 18). From Éoganacht Raithlind he chooses Fergal mac Élathaig (R 150 a 22). He omits Uí Meic Brócc (R 150 a 46) and Uí Meic Iair (R 150 b 2), two relatively unimportant clerical families, Éoganacht Chaisil (R 150 b 6) and Uí Chathbath (R 150 a 23), with whom he has already dealt, and the obscure groups, Uí Fiachrach Oele (R 151 a 28), Uí Dedaid (R 151 a 34) and Gabraige (R 151 a 40) who indeed appear nowhere in the text. From among the Uí Liatháin he selects Anmchaid mac Dúinchada (R 151 a 48) and from the Uí Fidgente Flannabra mac Ciarmacáin (R 152 a 4), Cethernach mac Célechair (R 152 a 17) and Cend Fáelad mac Duib dá bairenn (R 152 a 20). He retains throughout this portion the sequence of the genealogical tract but it will be noticed, on comparison with the tract itself, that as he moves away from Éoganacht Chaisil he excerpts less and less relative to the amount of material in the tract. The list of the 'electors' of Cellachán (§ 7), confined insofar as they can be identified to Éoganacht Chaisil, is a less detailed catalogue excerpted from the same materials and following the same pattern. The list of the nobles who accompany Cellachán to Dublin (§§ 31-42) is constructed on an entirely different principle and serves an entirely different purpose. Eleven of the twelve nobles, only two of whom are Éoganacht, bear in the second portion of their names the eponyms of the leading Munster families of the twelfth century. The list of leaders of the sea-forces is similar in structure. Of the twelve dynasts named,

<sup>98</sup> His genealogy, which should appear immediately after that of Fiannamail, is absent from R. It appears in its proper place in LL, Lec. and BB. See O'Brien (1962) 209.



are eponymous ancestors of prominent Munster families associated particularly with twelfth-century naval warfare.

The author of CCC shows a good grasp of the general theory of genealogical affiliations (§§ 47, 54-7 *etc.*) or *comuammand na ngenelach* but it is technically known and is far more at home in this vague science than in genealogy *sensu stricto*. With a mind typical of the native historian, he sets politics, alliances and military strategy within this framework.

### Conclusions

A number of interesting questions and conclusions of a more general character arise at this point. Firstly, I have no doubt that the author of CCC was an Irish secular man of learning who served Meic Carthaig in the same way as the later bardic poets served their patrons and his approach to history is one of a piece with theirs. Writing in a century of the most remarkable church reform he has little or no explicit reference to the churchmen and their doings<sup>99</sup> despite the prominence of Munster in ecclesiastical matters, the associations of Cormac Mac Carthaig with the reform, and his reputation as a munificent patron of church building.<sup>100</sup> In bold contrast to the compiler of *Cogadh*, who lays such heavy stress on the ruinous effects of the Vikings on the church and who introduces heroes as important characters in his narrative, the author of CCC directs his attention almost entirely to military and political activities and includes no ecclesiastical or hagiographical material. Again, as we have pointed out, he had no access to annals which are products of monastic learning. Had he such materials at hand, we can be sure that he would have drawn heavily (and slavishly) on them as he drew on the sources which were available to him. What is curious is that the dichotomy between secular and monastic learning should maintain itself, in this case at least, at so late a date. One may well ask if he belonged to one of those eleventh and twelfth century families which lay learned men from whom the later bardic families sprang.

There is, as we have seen, good reason to believe that the writer's purpose was to produce a saga glorifying Cellachán and thus his descendants. The purpose of the exercise is political propaganda

<sup>99</sup> The reference to *comarba Caisil* (§ 4) is ambivalent. See n. 33. If we care to read *ne ba primfhaidh a nArd Macha* (§ 59) as *is mé ba primáit i nArd Macha* 'it is I who was primáit in Armagh', we have a definite reference to the twelfth-century reform and one which must date the text to 1111 or after. In that year the synod of Ráithbreasail set Armagh as the primatial see. The fact that five of the manuscripts used in the critical edition of the proceedings of the synod have the form *primfháidh* for *primáit* 'primáit mate' lends some substance to the emendation. See J. MacErlean, 1914, 'Synod of Ráith Breasail' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 3:12. I have to thank Professor Ó Riain for this suggestion.

<sup>100</sup> A. Gwynn, 1949, 'St Malachy of Armagh' in *Ir. Eccl. Rec.* 71:134, 146-8.

and, if such is to be effective, it must be credible in one way or another. Yet the text is full of the wildest chronological errors and the grossest blunders. However, these notions derive from our ideas of history and there is no good reason to believe that they ever crossed the mind of the compiler of CCC. Nonetheless, it may be interesting to speculate about this twelfth-century Irish scholar who, in our terms at least, made such a botch of his historical saga. He was not ill-equipped in the matter of sources: he possessed detailed genealogies, king-lists, perhaps some saga-material and an exemplar of the task in hand, *Cogadh*. Yet he failed to establish who was important in Cellachán's time. For example, if his purpose was to include only ancestors and eponyms of important twelfth-century families, he only succeeded in part. He did exclude a number of minor families but he should have known that it was a waste of time and vellum to include such persons as Fiannamail mac Fiachnaí and Cuanachtach mac Con cen máthair of Éoganacht Airthir Cliach and Conaing mac Larchada of Uí Chathbath.<sup>101</sup> These persons were of no importance as ancestors of twelfth-century families and any importance which may have attached to them or their early descendants was a thing of the past long before Cellachán was born. Indeed, Uí Meic Iair, whom he excluded, ancestors of the Uí Selbaig, hereditary abbots of Cork, were much more relevant to the problems of his day and of Cormac Mac Carthaig in particular than the obscure ancestors of north Munster dynastic families. Secondly, he has no notions of chronology, not even general ones, and for a profession which prided itself at *comamserdecht* 'synchronization' he puts in a poor performance. Indeed one gets the feeling that he worked his way mechanically through the Éoganacht tract without fully understanding it.

One may ask if he is in any way representative of his time and of the historical culture of his peers. The genealogical materials of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are very poor both in quality and quantity. Indeed the thin genealogical traditions which we possess for such leading dynasties as Clann Cholmáin, Meic Lochlainn, Éoganacht and others would point to the conclusion that in the period between the Viking wars and the Norman invasion genealogy writing seems to have fallen largely out of fashion. There seems in fact to have been a general fall off in genealogical recording in the late eighth and ninth centuries—a period which corresponds with the rise of more powerful overkings. In this context it is less than surprising that the author of CCC—if we may judge from his present

<sup>101</sup> It is notable that the later hand in TCD. H. 2. 7., which inserts the names of later Éoganacht dynastic families in the early tabular pedigrees, has nothing to say of any dynastic families sprung from these persons.

porious efforts—had with a few minor exceptions no genealogical materials for the tenth century and perhaps later to which the modern scholar does not have access. Yet the twelfth century was a time of collecting and compilation and our surviving genealogical records go back to twelfth-century manuscripts. Nonetheless, it may not be unfair to see the work of the compilers of the great codices, Rawlinson B 502 and the Book of Leinster and their likes—and of the scholars whose compositions they preserve—as an essentially anti-antiquarian movement in progress within a narrow circle of mostly ecclesiastical scholars labouring in a society which had largely chewed the virtues of genealogy and *senchas* for the realities of power-politics. These codices are full of fine detail on the dynasties of the seventh and eighth centuries and in particular contain most elaborate genealogies of the unsuccessful peoples. It is a fact of life that the powerful who have come down in the world and the *provi homines* who have just arrived concern themselves most with origins, the one to console themselves with proof of their former power and gentility, the other to provide some respectable historical background to themselves and legitimacy to their position. Both tendencies are evident in the genealogical *corpus*. As an example we can compare the genealogies of the Ciarraige and the Éoganacht. In the ancient genealogical tracts preserved in the Book of Lecan the pedigrees of the Éoganacht of Cashel occupy less than a folio (Lec. 216 R d 12 — V c 51) whilst those of the Ciarraige, a minor folk, occupy some eight pages (Lec. 117 R c 1–121 R d 41). It might be added that most of the names in the Ciarraige genealogies are so obscure that they cannot be identified. From these elaborate ossilized or petrified texts single-line pedigrees of the ruling houses are carried forward to the twelfth century, often with little historicalarrant. The syncopated pedigrees of the Uí Chaílm, Uí Donnchada, Uí Muirchertaig, Uí Donnubáin, Uí Chind Fáelad and others are examples to point. In the case of the ruling house of Ciarraige, the twelfth-century pedigree, actually contained in twelfth-century manuscripts, is full of blunders whilst the later genealogical tradition bears no relationship whatever to the real descent for some eight generations and is a patent eponymous construct.<sup>102</sup> In these circumstances, the writer of CCC, who is perhaps no better and no worse than his sources, may have been a representative and indeed respectable man of learning in the twelfth century. I find it difficult to resist the speculation that a copy of the old genealogical *corpus*, made available again by the twelfth-century antiquarian movement,

<sup>102</sup> R 154 d 43 = LL 327 c 38 = LL 336 e 1. For copies of the later unhistorical pedigrees, see RIA 23 Q 10, 47 R c 18 = Ó Clery § 1930 = *Leabhar Muimhneach*, 252. For an attempt to work out an historical pedigree, see Ó Corráin (1968) 49–55.



fell into his hands and that he made the best possible use of it within his lights.

One must now turn to the society towards which his work was directed. Firstly, in his attempt to flatter the Munster aristocracy was he wise to disregard chronology (assuming he knew any) and bundle their eponymous ancestors together in an adventure story which is quite unhistorical? Certainly his text could scarcely convince the *litterati* in a society in which traditional learning was flourishing and widely diffused. There is little evidence that such was the case and if we regard that hurdle as surmounted we encounter a more formidable obstacle. An accurate memory of a generation-dept of three or four in the case of the older members of the aristocracy would prove the text false in a large number of instances. For example, Domnall mac Diarmada, king of Corcu Baiscind and eponymous ancestor of Uí Domnaill, was killed at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. A Corcu Baiscind dynast alive in the middle of the eleventh century would have known old men who could have been present at the battle or who at least would know events connected with it which concerned them, e.g. the death of their king. Is it likely that the son of such a dynast, who would have been in late middle age in 1130 could be convinced that Domnall did not die at the battle of Clontarf, as his father told him, but at a hitherto unknown naval encounter off Dundalk which took place some sixty years earlier? This is perhaps the most extreme example, but if the text (and, one might add, a great deal of other genealogical materials) was convincing, we must accept that the twelfth-century aristocracy had no clear memory of its ancestors who flourished in the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries. This raises other questions. It is usually assumed that there was in Irish society a profound awareness of descent and a genealogical memory of a depth of four, five or more generations. Is this assumption based on a methodological error, viz., that we mistake the professional preoccupations of the learned men, which we know from the texts, for the more mundane and everyday political and kin preoccupations of the dynasts, to whom we ascribe a knowledge which they may neither have had nor cared to have? Are we to conclude that the twelfth-century aristocracy had little concern for descent except in the cruder sense of remembering one's eponym, being proud of one's name and of one's seed and breed in a general way—rather an awareness of belonging to what Professor Binchy calls an amorphous *shiocht*<sup>103</sup> than any precise knowledge of one's descent and exact place amongst the kindred? It is one of the economies of life that

<sup>103</sup> D. A. Binchy. 1962. 'The passing of the old order' in Brian Ó Cuív ed. *Proceedings of the Dublin Congress of Celtic Studies* 1959 (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies) 15.

Few men know more than they need to and, as the anthropologists have shown,<sup>104</sup> if men know their genealogies in detail there is usually good reason for it. Perhaps the commonest function of such knowledge is in distributing inherited property, power, and ritualistic roles within the kindred or extended family. The early Irish law of the inheritance of property involved four or more generations and required a genealogical memory of at least four generations. However, this system was long obsolete by the twelfth century and seems to have been replaced by a simpler system of inheritance within the immediate family which required little genealogical knowledge in its operation.<sup>105</sup> Likewise, eligibility in royal succession seems to have been determined for practical purposes not by one's place within the kindred but by the more mundane factors of power and political influence.<sup>106</sup> In fact, the main social reasons for in-depth genealogical knowledge no longer existed.

On a more general level, Irish society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was undergoing a period of momentous change. It was an age of upset and uncertainty, of 'sovranty destroyed by base kindreds, iniquitous law and great arrogance in kings' and of 'the needy transitory king who will subdue the miserable husbandman', to quote a poem written about 1150.<sup>107</sup> There were great changes in Munster in particular. The dynastic families of Éoganacht Chaisil moved southwards and made the monastic and Ostman city of Cork their head-quarters. This was followed by a major shift in the south Munster kingdoms. Uí Donnchada conquered Éoganacht Locha Léin between 1127 and 1158. Domnall Ua Faillbe of Corcu Duibne who flourished *circa* 1100 is called Domnall na hIndarba 'of the expulsion'<sup>108</sup> whilst Donnchad mac Céin Uí Mathgamna (fl. 1151) is known as Donnchad *na nImirce Timchill* 'of the wandering about'.<sup>109</sup> All this reflects a vast movement amongst the dynasties of Munster which has yet to be studied in detail. These geographical changes are paralleled by a change in the order of society. The relationship of king and overking slowly changed to that of vassal or dependent and lord. In 1092, for example, Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, was blinded by Ua Flaithbertaig; the annals describe it as 'a lamentable deed' and characterize the relationships of the

<sup>104</sup> On this point see Laura Bohannon. 1952. 'A genealogical charter' in *Africa* 2: 301-15; E. Peters, 1960, 'The proliferation of segments in the lineage of the Medouin of Cyrenaica' in *Jn. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* 90: 29-53; I. M. Lewis, 1962, 'Historical aspects of genealogies in northern Somali social structure' in *Jn. African Hist.* 3: 35-48.

<sup>105</sup> Binchy (1962) 132; Hughes (1972) 61. T. M. Charles-Edwards, 1972, 'Kinship, status and the origins of the hide' in *Past and Present* 56: 17.

<sup>106</sup> Ó Corráin (1971) 7-39. For a contrary view see Byrne (1973) 35-7, 119, 112-3.

<sup>107</sup> E. Knott, 1958, 'A poem of prophecies' in *Ériu* 18: 64-72.

<sup>108</sup> Lec. 108 V (l. m.); *Leabhar Muimhneach*, 224.

<sup>109</sup> O Clery § 2036 *Leabhar Muimhneach*, 224; *Ann. Inisf.* s.aa. 1206, 1213; *Misc. Ir. m.* s.aa. 1151, 1172, 1206, 1213.

two men as that of lord and man.<sup>110</sup> In the twelfth century, Ua Flaithbertaig, as noble in pedigree as Ua Conchobair, becomes the admiral of Ua Conchobair's fleet;<sup>111</sup> Ua hAinbféith, king of Uí Méith, becomes the commander of Mac Lochlainn's cavalry;<sup>112</sup> Ua Ruairc, who could point to kings of Connacht in his pedigree, becomes Ruaidri Ua Conchobair's most loyal vassal; and Uí Máel Sechnaill, the descendants of the greatest kings of early Ireland, are tossed about like flotsam and jetsam in the ebb and flow of twelfth-century politics.<sup>113</sup> Kingship, on occasion, passes outside the hereditary royal kindred. Uí Briain dynasts become kings of Telach Óc<sup>114</sup> and of Gailenga,<sup>115</sup> the discard dynast, Brian Ua Briain, becomes king of Éoganacht for a period,<sup>116</sup> Ua hEidin, supported by Ua Briain, 'enters the patrimony' of Uí Muiredaig and makes himself king of Connacht,<sup>117</sup> Tigernán Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne, and Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla, divide between them the lordship of Mide,<sup>118</sup> and Mac Lochlainn and Mac Murchada make and break kings of Ulaid and Ossraige respectively.<sup>119</sup> In the twelfth century, power is the name of the game and a distinguished pedigree, if it exists, is spice to the meat but no substitute for it. The *leitmotif* of the period is the growth of kingship and the relations between Cellachán and his nobles in CCC are a paradigm of the ideal relationship between a king and his vassal lords in the twelfth century. In this situation of violent change and successful power-politics, it is little wonder that genealogy should fall into the background, that men should not remember a past which was growing increasingly irrelevant and that such an unhistorical *exemplum* as CCC should be credible. And, in the scenario which an early writer describes for the recitation of such a piece— 'At ale poems are chanted: fine genealogical ladders are climbed: melodious bardisms modulate through pools of liquor the name of Áed'<sup>120</sup>—we can be in no doubt that CCC would have passed muster.

The twelfth century, in Ireland as well as in Europe, was a century of change in literature as in society. The themes of the great and

<sup>110</sup> AU, FM, ATig, Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1092; CS s.a. 1088 [= 1092.]

<sup>111</sup> ATig. s.a. 1132.

<sup>112</sup> AU s.a. 1170.

<sup>113</sup> P. Walsh, 1941, 'The Ua Maelechlainn kings of Meath' in *Ir. Eccl. Rec.* 57: 165-83.

<sup>114</sup> J. Hogan, 1940, 'The Uí Briain kingship of Telach Óc' in Ryan ed. *Féilsgribhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* (Dublin: Three Candles) 406-44.

<sup>115</sup> FM s.a. 1049.

<sup>116</sup> *Misc. Ir. Ann.* s.a. 1118

<sup>117</sup> Ann. Inisf. s.a. 1093. Cf. ATig, FM s.a. 1097; CS s.a. 1093 [= 1097].

<sup>118</sup> *Misc. Ir. Ann.* s.a. 1167 [= 1168]; ATig. s.a. 1172. Both these kings fortified themselves in their new positions by making extensive grants to the church from their newly conquered lands.

<sup>119</sup> AU s.a. 1113; LL 40 c 55.

<sup>120</sup> *Thes. Pal.* ii 295.



st king, the sainted royal ancestor and patriotism (for which the Irish used the long-peaceful Norse as a whipping boy), all well developed in Irish historical writing, are also present in the European literature of the age. Historical and pseudo-historical materials are reworked to serve new purposes, particularly that of the glorification of kingship. CCC belongs to its time and to the preoccupations of its age in Ireland and in Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the kings of Britain* was completed within a decade of CCC and Brooke describes it as one of "two powerful legends" which "boosted the ideal image of English kingship" in the reign of Stephen.<sup>121</sup> Geoffrey's purpose might also be described as royal propaganda and his history is even more legendary than that of CCC. *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, a superb piece of Ua Briain propaganda, may have Asser's *Life of Alfred* as its model. What is perhaps further influence from abroad can be seen in the Uí Briain attempt to saint the eponymous ancestor of the ruling segment, Máirdelbach, and thus give added authority to themselves.<sup>122</sup> This attempt can be dated to *circa* 1162<sup>123</sup> and has its parallel in England in the sainting of Edward the Confessor. Osbert de Clare compiled his *Life of Edward* in 1138 and in 1161, through the less ghostly help of Henry II, he was promoted to sanctity. We get another hint of foreign influence in the account of the inauguration of the king of Cashel which holds up as a model the inauguration of the German emperor.<sup>124</sup> Research may establish how and in what ways Irish royal propaganda was influenced by foreign literature and to what degree the dynastic propaganda of the Uí Briain was innovatory. Meanwhile, we can say of CCC that it is a humble and perhaps not so effective example of its *genre* and if it can teach us nothing about the tenth century it contains valuable information about the twelfth.

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<sup>121</sup> C. Brooke, 1967, *The Saxon and Norman kings* (London: Collins) 191. The story of the sanctity of Edward the Confessor is the other legend.

<sup>122</sup> W. W. Heist, 1965, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* (Bruxelles: Société desollandistes) 280-301.

<sup>123</sup> J. F. Kenney, 1966, *The sources for the early history of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York: Octagon Press) 405.

<sup>124</sup> Lec. 181 V c 21 = RIA Stowe C. I. 2, 44 V b 5. T. Ó Raithbheartaigh, 1932, *Genealogical tracts I* (Dublin: Ir. Mss. Comm.) 182 § 172.

## SOME CONJECTURES ON THE ORIGINS AND TRADITION OF THE HISPERIC POEM *RUBISCA*

HENRY BRADSHAW, in his notes on the folios of Luxembourg 89 that contain fragments of *Hisperica Famina*, wrote "... these uncouth Hisperic words, which abound here, are (so far as I know) only found elsewhere in the *Lorica* of Gildas (printed by Mone, *Hymni Latini* 1, 367, as 'Hymnus quem Lathacan scotigena fecit'), in a poem addressed to the redbreast (*rubisca*) in the Cambridge University Library, and in several manuscripts of the XIII century more or less clearly connected with Brittany."<sup>1</sup>

Bradshaw was perhaps the first to pay any real notice to the *Rubisca*; unfortunately, his untimely death deprived us of the fruit of his analysis of that and other texts related to *Hisperica Famina*. Zimmer and Stowasser, the great German investigators of these cryptic works, as far as I know, wrote nothing on the *Rubisca*. I was left to a successor of Bradshaw's in the post of librarian of the Library of Cambridge University, F. J. H. Jenkinson, to publish the poem and to write a short commentary on it.<sup>2</sup> Jenkinson correctly notes the unusual type of tmesis and contorted word order that makes certain passages almost impossible to construe. He is also right, I think, in referring to its metrical excellence. However, he is misleading when he writes, "The next stanza (esp. lines 15-17) 'antris musarum passim priuatam/pauperem preter fonen stridulam' resembles a verse in a passage printed in Giles (p. 273) at the end of the *Aenigmata* of Aldhelm from 'Codex A': *Pauper poeta nescit antra musarum sicut ego*."<sup>3</sup> Ehwald, in his 1919 edition of Aldhelm (MGH. *Auct. Antiq.* 15) showed beyond any doubt that the little verse at the end of the *Aenigmata* (found only in P<sup>4</sup>) is not genuine Aldhelm. Even if it were, it can be traced directly to Servius' *De Centum Metris*, GL 4.458.24, as Ehwald noted.<sup>4</sup> Manitius adds one more interesting observation about the work: the name *Olimbrianus* in line 78 may be the name of the author.<sup>5</sup> The only other reference to the poem of my acquaintance is that of Kenney, who refers to it as a religious poem!

We are thus faced with an obscure and difficult poem, only once edited (Jenkinson's transcription is fairly precise, but his conjecture

† I am heavily indebted to Dr. Proinséas Ní Chatháin, of University College, Dublin, and to Dr. Michael Lapidge, of Clare Hall, Cambridge, for numerous corrections and valuable suggestions for improvements.

<sup>1</sup> A letter attached to the manuscript, Sept. 27, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> *The Hisperica Famina* (Cambridge, 1908), p. xxiii, pp. 55-9.

<sup>3</sup> Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Ehwald, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911), I, p. 160.

and notes sparse), never translated, and the subject of precious little literary-historical attention. Perhaps I should remark here that I intend to produce a new edition of our poem with an English translation and a linguistic commentary in the second volume of my edition of *Hisperica Famina*.<sup>6</sup> In this article, however, I should like to devote some attention to the form and content of the poem, its literary parallels and antecedents, the problem of its authorship and place of origin, and its tradition in the schools of the early Middle Ages.

The poem is contained in a single manuscript: Cambridge University Library Gg. 5.35, (*saec. XI ex.*). As Jenkinson notes, "The handwriting, which is what the continental authorities call 'insular,' shews that it was copied by an Englishman: some of its contents, which relate to the Emperor Henry III (1039-1055) gives us a date before which it cannot have been written, while the writing itself prevents us from placing it much later."<sup>7</sup> The portion that contains the *Rubisca*, the *Adelphus Adelpha*, and Greek hymns (in Latin characters), fols. 419<sup>v</sup>-424<sup>r</sup>, exhibits "typical" eleventh-century insular features: the telltale *a*, out of proportion to the other letters; the marked preference for the uncial *d*; an excessively rounded *t*, with the bar frequently joined to neighbouring letters; signs of hooking in the *r*; and a decided clumsiness in the *g*. It would seem, then, that our manuscript dates from shortly after the Norman occupation. Of greater interest to us, however, is the arrangement of the works that follow our poem in the MS, for they demonstrate that the *Rubisca* was not an isolated work stuck in as filler between major compositions (witness the tradition of the *Altus Prosator* in continental MSS), but a part of a *corpus* of poems and hymns of a certain tradition. Thus, immediately after the *Rubisca* comes the text of the *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*, or "St. Omer Hymn" (after the MS in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Saint-Omer), included by Jenkinson in his volume because it shows a preponderance of Hisperic diction. There follows a Greek alphabet, in capital letters, with glosses giving the names of the letters (though with some queer variations); two hymns in Greek, written in Latin characters, and with Latin glosses: *O theos istin boythian mu . . . ke os tu eonos amin* and *Patir imon oen tis uranis . . . apotu poniru*. AMIN; two versions of the *Pater Noster* in Latin hexameters; a hymn *Doxa enipsistis theo ke epis ges yrimi*, etc.; the Nicene Creed in Greek, but again in Latin characters, and with Latin glosses; a paraphrase in the same manner of the Apostles' Creed; finally, a riddle in both Greek and Latin that deals with medical terms: *Dic duo que faciunt pronomina nomina cunctis . . .*

<sup>6</sup> To appear in the Press of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1974.

<sup>7</sup> Jenkinson *op. cit.*, p. xxxvi.



*mininga est membranum* . . . It should be also noted that earlier in the MS (fol. 381) comes the oft-copied *Versus cuiusdam Scoti de alphabeto* and poetry and *Aenigmata* of Aldhelm. Other Christian poets as Juvencus, Sedulius, and Prudentius are included in the volume.

Jenkinson was curious to know by what routes these various works found their way to Canterbury (the provenance of our MS). It is tempting to believe that at least fols. 419<sup>v</sup>–424<sup>r</sup> are derived ultimately from a school notebook of Aldhelm's left in Canterbury (or copied there) during his stay. Aldhelm's education reflects a two-fold tradition: the earlier and Irish education, based at least partially on a reading and mastery of *Hisperica Famina*, received at the hands of Máeldub in Malmesbury between 660–670;<sup>8</sup> and the later and continental background inherited from Hadrian c. 670–2,<sup>9</sup> whence Aldhelm's reading and imitation of the Christian poets. It is not therefore unreasonable to suppose that our eleventh-century scribe at Canterbury had access to a *codex* that was used by Aldhelm and that the Hisperic poem and hymn, Greek alphabet, the transliterations of Greek prayers, and the hybrid riddle go directly back to a school notebook composed from the dictations of Máeldub. The inclusion of a Greek alphabet—with its strangely-named characters—lends greater credence to this conjecture. Although there are differences in points of detail, it is instructive to compare the Greek alphabet of Gg. V. 35 with that given in the Irish *Auraicept na n-Éces*, which appears to represent genuine seventh-century Irish tradition.<sup>10</sup>

So much for the possibilities of the transmission of the poem. To establish its source and *milieu*, it will be necessary to examine rather carefully its form, diction, and content.

Let us commence with a summation: The *Rubisca* like the "St. Omer Hymn" and the *Altus Prosator*, is an alphabetical poem; it comprises twenty-four stanzas (an invocation plus one stanza for each letter of the alphabet) of four lines each. Almost every line consists of ten syllables, five before the caesura and five after. These hemistichs are in turn divided into two feet, which, when read accentually, give a dactyl and spondee, or what might be termed "rhythmic adonii", not iambics, as Manitius held. In general, there is one-syllable rhyme at the ends of lines, though there are a fair number of instances of good two-syllable rhyme. Both alliteration and assonance are frequent. The syntax is extremely difficult and at least twice relies upon some unprecedented *tnesis* (*anim* . . .

<sup>8</sup> See Père P. Grosjean, "Confusa Caligo," *Celtica* 3 (1956), pp. 66–7.

<sup>9</sup> See W. F. Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature* (Princeton, 1967), p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> See G. Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces* (Edinburgh, 1917), p. 86.

*ueri* [9-11]; *poeque tissam* [14]).<sup>11</sup> The diction is obscure and can be properly labelled "Hisperic". One finds rare Latin words, neologisms, Greek and Greek-derived words, Hebrew-derived words, and hybrids. There are numerous lexical correspondences with all the versions of the *H. F.*, some very significant correspondences with the *Lorica Laidcenn*,<sup>12</sup> and less significant ones with the "St. Omer Hymn". The content is satirical: the poet taunts the redbreast for its unusuality, voraciousness, and lack of physical charm. He is amazed that it is one of the Creator's doings. Except for the invocation and conclusion, the poem is secular—and strongly ironic—in tone, thus differing noticeably from the other *abecedarii*. In brief, the *Rubisca* is a most unusual piece of literature from every standpoint, and I can only reiterate my surprise that it has not been more often read. Let us now examine more closely the question of vocabulary. The lexicographical correspondences between the *Rubisca* and the *H. F.* are as follows (asterisked forms indicate the more significant correspondences):

<i>Rubisca</i>	<i>H.F.</i>
1. <i>tugurii</i> = "hut, cottage, abode," v. 7	<i>tugurio</i> A221; -a A454; <i>tugoria</i> A479
2. * <i>esus</i> = "food", v. 19	<i>essum</i> B79, C76; <i>essum</i> A167
3. <i>tinica</i> (used as subst.) = "chirping, singing", v. 26	<i>cf. tinolam</i> A66; <i>tinulo</i> B42
4. <i>garrulam piculam</i> , v. 29	<i>g. undae</i> A395; <i>g. frustra</i> A389; <i>g. limphis</i> C30; <i>g. undas</i> B139
5. * <i>brachen</i> , v. 30	<i>bracha</i> B186
6. <i>binis</i> = <i>duobus</i> , v. 31 ( <i>cf. bis bina</i> , v. 65) <sup>13</sup>	<i>bis bino</i> B75; -os 527
* <i>sennis</i> = "teeth" ( <i>ex Heb. shēn</i> ), v. 32	<i>senarum</i> C184 ( <i>gl. dentium</i> ); <i>cf. sennosis</i> A158, 170, 298

<sup>11</sup> There are several instances of such *tnesis* in the *Vita metrica S. Brigidæ* (Kenney, p. 151 [i]): 272 *marga — meis — ritas aptauit auribus*; 772 *circum — stant — quaque trones*; 1663 *alle que — luia*; 1898 *septem — de parte — triones*.

<sup>12</sup> See my article "The Authorship, Date of Composition, and Provenance of the so-called 'Lorica Gildæ'" in *Ériu* 24, (1973), pp. 36-51, arguing that Laidcenn (or Laidcend), the monk of Clonfert-Mulloe, was the author of that piece, not Gildas, to whom it has been so often ascribed.

<sup>13</sup> The distributive form in place of the cardinal is a common feature in Hiberno-Latin; see the examples in the index to Adamnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, *S. L. H.* II, p. 144, col. 1.

8. *spissas*, v. 32      *spisso* D143; -as A514; *spisa* B93; -is C164 (*gl. cripeticion*)
9. \**forceps* = "mouth", v. 33      *forcipe* B39, 68; C13 (*gl. ore*); 181 (*gl. ore*); *forci* C209 (*gl. ore*)
10. \**iaris* = "hair", v. 37      *iaras* B90
11. \**panta*, v. 39 (*pantes*, v. 89; *panta*, v. 94)      *pantes* A178, 423, 450, C93 (*gl. ones*); -ia A79, 86, 438
12. *septenis* = *septem*, v. 40      *septenos* B113
13. *equiperatis*, v. 40      *equiperatam* A48; *equipera...* D106
14. *roseum* = "red", v. 49      *roseus* A357; 426; -a A93; -um A266; -o B197; -os A304; -as D57; -is A462, 586; *rosaea* D26
15. \**giboniferum* = "fiery" (*gibon fort. corrupt. ex Heb. gehennom, = ignis*)      *cf. ciboneus* A95, 433; -um A289, D61 (*gl. tanol*); -a A138
16. *plectrum*, v. 52      *cf. plextra* A552
17. *costae*, v. 55      *costas* B214
18. *trinum*, v. 57      *trinos* A24, B20, 151; -a A489
19. *nitoris*, v. 61      *nitore* A452, B37
20. *uterum*, v. 62      *uterum* A424, D8, 24; -o A398 440, B201, D42
21. *aduncis*, v. 68      *adunca* A252
22. *histrio*, v. 72      *cf. historum* A75, 102, 543 *likely derived from Isidore's etymology* *histriones* quasi *historiones* (*Etym.* 18.48.1)
23. *fatur*, v. 77      *fandi* B48



*agion = ἄγιον, v. 88	ageum A283; -am A553; -as A232
thalasson, v. 90	talasum B137; <i>cf.</i> thalasicum A134; talisicum A415
ypanon = uranon, v. 90	uranon B106; <i>cf.</i> horanus A366; -i A378; -um A306; huranus D59
heros, v. 95	<i>cf.</i> heroico B77
poli = "the world, universe," v. 95	<i>very frequent in all versions</i>

There can be little doubt that so many correspondences of rare words and words with rare usages between this work (a poem of only twenty-six lines) and the various versions of *Famina* point clearly to the *milieu* of Ireland in the second half of the seventh century, especially the years 651-664, the *tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum*.<sup>14</sup> I have argued elsewhere<sup>15</sup> that a large number of words in the *H. F.* are drawn from the *Etymologies* of Isidore and other writings of his, while a number of Hisperic words acquire their senses from Hellenistic etymologies. The works of Isidore were received into Ireland and assimilated by the mid-point of the seventh century. The *Famina*, based upon Isidore, could be used as models of diction and as a source of vocabulary for those *qui egregiam urbani tenoris opinant faucibus linpham*,<sup>16</sup> and already in the fifties were part of the curriculum offered in Ireland, and by the very next decade were in evidence in the schools of England.<sup>17</sup> The date of Laidcenn's death, 661,<sup>18</sup> is an important landmark, as it gives us the *terminus ante* for the *Lorica*, a work that blends Hisperic diction with more formal anatomical *lexica* drawn directly from Isidore. The *Lorica* provides us with a paradigm of the ways in which an Hisperic theme could be elaborated as it is at least in part inspired by the *De oratione* and in both the A and B recensions of the *H. F.* That the author of the *Rubisca* was Irish (as Jenkinson conjectured) and not an English

Herren, *art. cit.*, p. 42.

See the introduction, pp. 20-2, and commentary, *passim*, to my edition: *The Hisperica Famina, I. The A-Text: A New Critical Edition with Translation and Philological Commentary* (The Press of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: Toronto, 1964).

Grosjean, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-5.

Herren, *art. cit.*, p. 44.

It is possible that the "mortalitas huius anni" (*Lorica* 5-6) refers to the plague that devastated Ireland in 664, and that the annalists erred here, as elsewhere, in assigning Laidcenn's obit to 661.

imitator of *Hisperica Famina* is shown by the use of the word *gilban* "beak, mouth" (line 32), from Irish *gulba*. To my knowledge, there are no examples of Irish-derived words in texts by English writers of the seventh and eighth centuries.

Let us now examine the relationship between the *Lorica* and the *Rubisca*. In respect to content, the two poems have little in common. The *Lorica* ("Breastplate") is a formulaic charm for every part of the body against the frequent plagues that occurred in Ireland in the early Middle Ages. The *Rubisca*, as we have noted, is a secular work playfully satirical in tone. Yet the lexical correspondences are striking:

<i>Rubisca</i>	<i>Lorica</i>
1. lizinam ( <i>gl.</i> linguam), v. 30	<i>cf.</i> liginam = linguam, v. 34
2. michinis ( <i>gl.</i> naribus), v. 31	michinas, v. 34
3. binis, v. 31	binas, v. 36; -os, v. 66
4. sennis, ( <i>gl.</i> dentibus), v. 32	sennas, v. 34
5. caladum ( <i>gl.</i> uia qua cibi trahuntur), v. 34	(cladum, v. 35 Leabhar Breac)
6. anhele, v. 35	anile, (anele LB and Köln), v. 4
7. iaris ( <i>gl.</i> pilis), v. 37	iaris, v. 33
8. panta, vv. 39, 94; pantes, v. 89	pantes, v. 77
9. tautonum ( <i>gl.</i> palpebrarum)	tautonibus, v. 43
10. superciliorum, v. 46	supercilis, v. 41
11. carsum, ( <i>gl.</i> uentrem), v. 49	<i>cf.</i> crassum (carsum LB), v. 35
12. humeros, v. 53	humeros, v. 54
13. costae, v. 55	costas, v. 57
14. ilis, v. 56	ilia, v. 71
15. iugulum, v. 62	iugulam, v. 67
16. dorso, v. 63	dorsum, v. 58
17. sennia, ( <i>gl.</i> celos), v. 81	seneam, v. 87

can be seen at a glance from the above list that the lexical correspondences are almost exclusively anatomical. Furthermore, the order of appearance of these words in the respective poems is quite loose. As with the *Lorica*, the first group of anatomical words are *recherché*, quite properly Hisperic, whereas items 10 and 12-16 are normal Latin words traceable to Isidore, *Etym.* 11.1.25 ff. This raises an interesting question: were both poems based independently upon glossaries of anatomical words comprising Isidore and some unknown source, or directly upon the *Etymologies* plus an unknown glossary? Or, did the author of the *Rubisca* cull his anatomical words out of the *Lorica*—assuming the *Lorica* to be prior to the *Rubisca*?

Let us first investigate the last-mentioned possibility. The first third of the *Lorica* constitutes a proper prayer against various evils physical and spiritual—though mostly physical—whereas a full two-thirds or more of the poem catalogue in minute detail, and sometimes redundantly, the parts of the body for which protection is sought. Thus, the work serves a double purpose: it is an actual charm following an ancient formula; but it is also an anatomical catalogue and thus has a didactic function. Hence it could have served as a kind of appendix to the *Hisperica Famina*, which only occasionally refers to the parts of the body. As a source of diction, it would have been committed to memory by students along with the *H. F.* A poet could have known both and would have selected from both the words he needed. There is a further reason for positing a later date for the *Rubisca*: the poem for its time was highly sophisticated—metrically, stylistically, and even in content. It was in fact a true *oeuvre littéraire*, a proper *jeu d'esprit*, while the *Lorica*—like much of the *Hisperica Famina*—smacks of the classroom. In my opinion, it is more likely that the *Rubisca* poet would have paraphrased a portion of a work he must have known by heart than that he would have gone back to the glossaries which formed the basis of that work.

On the other hand, lines 49-52 may display a direct acquaintance with at least one passage in Isidore:

Mundi ceu fantur carsum roseum  
 olim gnostici gibboniferum  
 inter fistule uelut timpanum (*lege fistulā?*)  
 plectrum buxinum mouens modulum.

The natural philosophers have long seen  
 that your red breast is like fire,  
 and in your pipe is a boxwood lyre  
 making melodies like a tambourine.



The *gnostici* (gl. *scientes*) *mundi* are, of course, no more than thin disguise for a passage from a book of natural history. In the *Hisperica Famina* they are called the *phisici*:

- A378    *Septemplicem horani asserunt cyclum phisici*  
 A484    *Bis senos phisici ecferunt (et ferunt MS) zephiros*

The first of these passages appears to be drawn from *Etym.* 3.32.2, the second from *Etym.* 13.11.3. Whether the *Rubisca* passage is based on a precise reference to Isidore, or some other treatise in natural philosophy, or is merely in imitation of the learned affectations of the *Hisperica Famina*, is open to question. Since the poem's intent is more to amuse than to instruct, I am inclined toward the latter possibility.

Let us now examine several other passages in the *Rubisca* in the hope of shedding some light on the subject of its origin. Lines 77–80

Tuus monarchus per has ut fatur  
 olimbrianus totum rimatur  
 molosi rerum res dominatur  
 bellique uigil cloca solatur (sonatur, *Jenk.*)

The first, second, and fourth lines can be translated with relative ease:

Your monarch Olimbrianus investigates all,  
 as he speaks through these (lines).,  
 . . . . .  
 and the bell sounds, the harbinger of war.

But how do we make anything of *molosi rerum res dominatur*? Can we read *rex* for *res* and allow *rerum* to be a gen. after *dominatur* in the Greek fashion occasionally affected by Latin poets, especially as *dominatur* renders Gr. ἄρχει? Thus line 3 might be translated:

the king of the molossus has mastery of his subject

Line 4 then neatly fits the context, as the whole stanza becomes a *topos* of the taunt and boast so well developed in the *Hisperica Famina*, e.g., A22–23:

Hinc lectorum sollertem inuito obello certatorem,  
 qui sophicam pla(s)mauerit auide palestram.

Thus do I challenge the adroit wrangler to a verbal duel,  
 to engage in rhetorical gymnastics with eagerness.

Our poet, styling himself *Olimbrianus monarchus*, while ostensibly addressing the subject of his poem, is proclaiming his mastery of the *colossus*<sup>19</sup> (a synecdoche for metre?) and is sounding the bell as a challenge to other poets. So much can be explained by the addition of the *Hisperica Famina*; but whence is derived the ploy of the pseudonym in the body of a poem, especially so precious a one as *Olimbrianus*? We shall return to this question later; for the moment let us look at another stanza, lines 81-4:

Uiam mecalbo sennia secat (se////ia, *Jenk.*)  
 porcelanusque legens exultat  
 canellus nimphus iussa ministrat  
 stabilis esto, nil te disperdat.

The glosses give *mecalbo*, *porcellanus*, *canellus* each as *proprium*; *nimphus* is given (wrongly, I think) as *minister*. But let us attempt an emendation of the first line before proceeding:

Uiam me calba sennia secat, Hence:

Bald old age<sup>20</sup> cuts off my path,  
 Porcellanus reading (my will?) rejoices,  
 Canellus Nimphus carries out my behests,  
 Be calm (O redbreast), let nothing distress you.

The poet, now an old man, envisions his death; but he beseeches the redbreast not to mourn him—ironically enough, as the poor bird could have little cause to grieve the demise of his tormentor. But who might be these personages Porcellanus (the heir) and Canellus nimphus (the executor)? Surely, they are no more than seventh-century Piglets and Poohs,<sup>20a</sup>—names that delight us by combining animal characteristics and important offices—quite in keeping with the mock-heroic tone of much of the poem. But can we not detect here the cloven hoof of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus? For who else have to a credulous world such monstrous implausibilities as Balapudus, Falanx Lacedaemonicus, the glorious Galbungus (author of *In laudibus indefunctorum*), the almost equally egregious Glengu, three Virgili (Troianus, Assianus, V. Maro Grammaticus), and a host of other luminaries who have provided scholarly employment for Germans and others for the near-century that has elapsed since the

<sup>19</sup> But compare Aldhelm's use of that word, *Ep.* 5, p. 493 (Ehwald): "etiamsi theodorus summi sacerdotii gubernacula regens Hibernensium globo discipulorum, aper truculentus molosorum catasta ringente vallatus, stipetur," etc.

<sup>20</sup> That meaning for *sennia* is based upon v. 87 ff. of the *Lorica*: *donec iam dante senecam / et peccata mea bonis deleam . . . / laetus uehor regni refrigeria.*

<sup>20a</sup> Dr. Bieler wonders if the author might have known the *Testamentum Porcelli* transmitted by Jerome, in Isaiam, p. 493, Vall.

appearance of Huemer's edition? Does not the use of the pompous pseudonym Olimbrianus, so like Olympianus, remind us of that master leg-puller?<sup>21</sup> The boast is also evidenced in the *Epitomae* (p. 18, H.) *sepiissime uersus mei soliti meminisse compellor, quem frequenter in exprobrationem nostri temporis gurgonum decanto 'multaui tornore logii nec arenam <arena Stangl> cessi'*,<sup>22</sup> ("Very often I am moved to recite a verse of my wont, which frequently I employ for the reproof of our age of babblers: 'I slaughtered the twisters of speech nor did I quit the ring.'")

Now let us return for a moment to our conjecture *rex* for *res* at line 79. The conjecture can, of course, be defended on phonetic grounds;<sup>23</sup> yet a glance at the section *De nomine* in the *Epitoma* (p. 27, H) may give a different explanation:

de re autem et corpore multi hessitant. res hebreia litera est quae interpretatur caput. res ergo hoc est quod et primarium nomen. sicut ergo primario quolibet ducatur exercitus inferior, ita et capite corpus omne regitur. appellatiua autem nomina multifidas species habent; quaedam enim nomina principalia sunt ut *rex* . . .

The derivation of *res* from the Hebrew letter meaning head and its elaboration into the part that rules the body, plus the fact that the very next item is the name *rex*, leads us to the folk etymology *rex* for *re*.<sup>24</sup> In that case, we may be well advised not to emend our text at all, but to explain to the reader how the word *res* could have been understood by a writer in the Hisperic tradition.

The unusual word *molae* (line 75, *molae colligis metis seminas*) apparently meaning "many", to my knowledge occurs nowhere else except here and in Virgilius. That grammarian cites a certain *Catonis elegantissimi rhetoris* as the author of these lines:

<sup>21</sup> The view that the *Epitomae* and *Epistolae* of Virgilius Maro are an exquisite hoax is cleverly argued by Macalister, *The Secret Languages of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1937) p. 83 ff. However, I now tend to agree with Grosjean ("Quelques remarques sur Virgile le Grammairien", *Mediaeval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn*, Dublin 1961) that at least some of the personal and place names may have an allegorical basis.

<sup>22</sup> This line reflects either the author's thorough knowledge of the *Hisperica Famina* or his inspiration of them. Cf. A25-7 *inertes mactaui duelles/ac robustos multa coaeuos/fortioresque prostravi in acie ciclopes*. The *tornores logii* may be the *sophiae*. *arcatores/qui egregiam urbani tenoris propinant faucibus linpham/uirpereoque litteraturam plasmant syllogismos*".

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Appendix Probi* 186 "*locuples non locuplex*"; other -es/-ex confusions are noted at 30, 147, 148, 185.

<sup>24</sup> The *Hisperica Famina* exhibit a fondness for assigning meanings to words based on a true or false etymology; hence *pruritus* = "a star" a *perurendo* (A137, 357); *cludit* through *clypeus* a *celando vel cluendo* (A33, 265); *populat* = "produce, spring forth" by association with *populus* (A40, 59, 180, 301).

*bella consurgunt poli praesentis sub fine,  
precae temnuntur sensum suetae doctrinae.  
regis<sup>24a</sup> dolosi fauent dolosos tyrranos,  
dium cultura molos neglecta per annos. (p. 14, H)*

Wars arise at the boundary of the present world,  
the usual prayers and admonitions of elders are ignored;  
Deceitful kings nourish deceitful tyrants,  
the cult of the gods is neglected for many (?) years.

We noted above that the author of the *Rubisca* employs the word *ba* (-ae?) from Ir. *gulba*. It is interesting that several of the names of Virgilius' "authorities" might also contain the *gulg-* element, viz. *ulbarius*, *Galbungus*, *Gelbidius*, perhaps all with the satirical meaning "mouthy".

Another peculiarity of the *Rubisca* that may owe its origin to Virgilius is the employment of an unprecedented type of *imesis*, already noted. The third stanza, already noted by Jenkinson, breaks *animaduerti* into two elements: *anim* in line 9 and *aduerti* in line 11! In the following stanza we find a less flagrant example: *neque tissam* in line 14. Virgilius in his *De scindervatione fonorum* the *Epitomae* assigns the origin of such unusual *imeseis* to "Terrentius": *motato more syllabam ex hoc uersu trahens et ex illo am uel commotobat uel minuebat atque addebat secundum illud tempora quae ra prae suum suo sub iure finem finitem sibi runt. Undi compage statuta" hoc est "quaerunt tempora praefinitum finem". (80, H).*

Yet in the final analysis, it is not in matters of grammatical and rhetorical peculiarities that we find the greatest influence of Virgilius, but rather in the areas of metrical and poetic theory—however affecting these theories may be with classical and even late classical theory and practice. Thus we find in the *De metris* (pp. 16-7) the metrical paradigm for our poem:

at etiam quaedam carminum genera, quae quamquam extraordinaria esse uideantur; tamen a rhetoribus ac leporicis secundum inlectum sepius usurpantur, ut sunt cantamenta et cantatellae, quibus uel maxime *Sagillius* manus et *Uitellius* utuntur. et ille quidem in libello de mare et luna scripto statim in prooemio cantamentum insuit <sic> dicens

*mare et luna concurrunt una  
uice altante temporum gande.*

In an earlier passage from the same section (p. 14, H), Virgilius proposes a paradigm for the practice of alliteration in a metre very similar to that of our poem:

<sup>a</sup> The *i* of *regis* must be taken as long, as G. Murphy (*Early Irish Metrics*, Dublin, 1907, p. 16) notes.



ueritas uera,  
aequitas aequa,  
largitas lauta,  
fiditas fida  
diurnos dies <†>tranquilla  
tenent tempora.

But who are the *rhetoires* and *leporici* mentioned in the first passage? *Virgilius* divides *filosofia* ("knowledge") into six branches: *poema rhetoria, grama, leporia, dialecta, geometria et cetera, quae non tam emulitatem quam curiositatem praetendunt* (p. 17, H). He also believes that each branch had clear boundaries: *Sed multi in hoc tempore uirum deffendentiamque harumce artium ignorantes in rhetoria poema et in poema rhetoriam agglomunt non habentes in memoria, quid Felix Alexandrorum magister praeceperit,*" etc., (p. 18). Previously (p. 17) he has distinguished between *poema* and *rhetoria*: *inter poema et rhetoriam hoc distat, quod poema sui uarietate contenta angusta atque obscura est; rhetoria autem sui amoenitate gaudens latitudinem ac pulchritudinem cum quadam metrorum pedum accentuum tonorum syllabarumque magnifica numeratione praepalat.* "Between a poem and a rhetoric there is this difference: that the poem is limited and narrow in content and is obscure; the rhetoric, on the other hand, preens in its loveliness and displays its breadth and beauty in rather opulent accumulation of metres, feet, accents, tones, and syllables." Not all that varied and rich, however, as he tells us (p. 24, H): *omnis uersus exametrus siue eptametrus rhetoricus est, trimetrus autem et tetrametrus et pentametrus poeticus est,* etc.

As for the *leporia*, *est ars quaedam locuplex atque amoenitatem mordacitatemque in sua facie praeferens, mendacitatem tamen in sua immutabilitate non deuitat; non enim formidat maiorum metas excedere, nulli reprehensione confunditur.* (p. 18, H). "The *leporia* is a rich kind of medium, having beauty and a biting quality in its preface, and does not avoid falsehood in its body; nor does it hesitate to exceed the bounds established by our ancestors and is not criticised for being mixed."

Thus it appears that in *Virgilius* there are three basic literary genres: the *poema* (poem), narrow in content, obscure (in diction?) and confined to lines of three to five metres (= feet); the *rhetoria* (rhetoric, or *retoiric*?), broad in content, amenable to numerous kinds of rhythm of six or seven metres; and the *leporia* (satire?) a "rich" genre with a biting quality, capable of falsehood, and apparently not limited by strictures of rhythm or metre; it can also be mixed with other genres—despite the Grammarian's earlier warning against this *delictum*. The three examples of the *leporia* given by our author bear out the stated absence of metrical unity: (1) *sol i*

*cursum metitur maria; (2) sol in occursu tinguit mare; (3) uentus acerborum radices euellit altas.*

Do we not have in the *leporia* the literary prototype for *Hisperica amina*? First, there can be no doubt that all of the versions of *amina* begin in a spirit of raillery at other *arcatores sophiae*, who are newcomers.<sup>25</sup> As for the *mendacitatem*—by which *Virgilius* seems to imply no more than broad metaphor—the *H. F.* are replete with examples.<sup>26</sup> Finally, in the *leporia*, we may have the key to the long perplexing, and oft-debated,<sup>27</sup> problem of the metrical structure of the *Hisperica Famina*. Despite numerous theories, no one to date has succeeded in providing a thoroughly satisfactory system.<sup>28</sup> If the *leporia* is in fact the prototype, then the *Hisperica amina* would have no specific metrical structure: *non enim formidat maiorum metas excedere, nulla reprehensione confunditur*. This could well explain the presence of lines of greatly divergent lengths and the extreme difficulty of scanning them, whether on a metrical, syllabic, or accentual basis.

Let us glance once more at two of *Virgilius*' three examples, for we believe that they set off a sense of *déjà vu*. Does not *sol in occursu tinguit mare* remind us of A303 *Titaneus occiduum rutilat arotus pontum*? "The Titanian star reddens the Western Sea." *Uentus acer roborum radices euellit altas* brings to mind two lines: A477-8 *Hic sonoreus ilia mactat sepherus robora, laniosas terrestribus plicat ilices sulcis*. "This rustling wind destroys the sacred oaks, it bends the aged ilices to their earthen furrows." It is interesting to note that *Virgilius* cites the first of these examples as his own: *ergo nos dicimus*, etc., (p. 19, H).

At this juncture, we are confronted with the terrible problem of who *Virgilius* was and when and where he lived. Far from entering into the debate, a mere review of the scholarship on the subject would be in itself a Herculean task.<sup>29</sup> However, the evidence that he was born in Toulouse and was a member of some school of Gaulish grammarians is unconvincing.<sup>30</sup> Nor do I believe the oft-quoted *bigerro sermone*

<sup>25</sup> See especially A61-87, wherein a native master or scholar chides a newcomer for attempting to penetrate the *sophica mysteria*. Better that he should go back to his farm, mend his fences, and look after his erring wife.

<sup>26</sup> Let one good example suffice: A387 *Astrifero spargit spumas sulco*. "(The sea) scatters its spray to the furrow of the stars."

<sup>27</sup> Bradshaw, Stowasser, Zimmer, Jenkinson, W. Meyer, Macalister, and Grosjean have all discussed this problem. For the bibliography, consult the introduction of my edition pp. 57-61.

<sup>28</sup> Though Macalister, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2, and Grosjean, "*Confusa*", p. 81, have, in my opinion, succeeded in exploding the theory that there is a regular caesura.

<sup>29</sup> For a summation of the scholarship to 1928, see D. Tardi, *Les Epitomae de Virgile* (Toulouse, *Essai de traduction critique, avec une bibliographie, une introduction et des notes*) (thesis, Paris, 1928), p. 12 ff.

<sup>30</sup> See Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 83 ff.

*clefabo* (p. 8, H) to be certain proof that he came from the *Bigorre*.<sup>31</sup> But in lieu of further research, bald statement must suffice.

Throughout the *Epitomae* and the *Epistolae* there are only a few indications of real acquaintance with the late classical grammatical tradition, apart from the titles of the divisions and some idea of what comprises a *liber de grammatica*. Our Virgilius had read enough in Latin to coin the wonderful bogus names that have perplexed so many, but surely such a facility could have been attained from a perusal of Servius and Isidore of Seville. His section of the *Epitomae*, *De cognominationibus*, obviously owes a good deal to Isidore's *Etymologiae*,<sup>32</sup> and indeed, one of the authorities quoted in that section is named *Origenes*! (p. 85). As for the *duodecim latinitatibus* (pp. 88-91, H) ascribed to a book by our author's mentor "Virgilius Assianus", surely these are nothing more than "code languages", possibly intended as spoof,<sup>33</sup> but more likely as a reflection of the spirit of linguistic inventiveness prevalent in his time. No one yet has succeeded in establishing the etymologies of these fanciful words, despite many attempts.<sup>34</sup> (Huemer, reverent as always, had the good sense to avoid conjectures, stating ponderously *in sequentibus verbis perobscuris nihil mutavi* [p. 88, H. *app. crit.*]).

I am currently of the belief that Virgilius must be placed in Ireland towards the middle of the seventh century. He seems to have had a significant role as either a shaper or critic of *Hisperica Famina*, as much of the foregoing evidence tends to show. His date after Isidore can be deduced from the *De cognominationibus*, while his *terminus ante* can be established from a citation in Aldhelm, *Ep.* 5. (p. 494, Ehwald): *digna fiat fante Glingio: gurgo fugax fambulō* (cf. *De protonomine* in the *Epistolae*, p. 121, H).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> A view accepted by Tardi, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and P. Grosjean, "Quelques remarques," p. 399. I have recently written a note on that phrase arguing that the reading of Neapoli IV A 34 (s. XI) *bigero sermone defabo* is to be preferred. Neither *bigerro* nor *bigero* can be interpreted as *bigerrico* with the meaning "of the Bigorre". The suggestion that *bigerro/bigero* represents a latinisation of Irish Beg Ére (a monastery in Wexford) is ingenious, but I think that the sense of the passage demands a word for "two" or "double".

<sup>32</sup> Compare Virgilius *nox dicitur ab eo quod humanis noceat* with *Etym.* 5 31.1. I acknowledge Kuno Meyer's objection ("Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century," Dublin, 1913, p. 22, fn. 7): "When they (sc. the etymologies) are examined it will seem that though the actual etymology is the same, nowhere is there any literal agreement such as we might reasonably expect to find had there been borrowing either way." I am presently at work on a paper in which I hope to show that direct borrowings from Isidore occur not only in that section but throughout the whole of the works.

<sup>33</sup> Macalister, *loc. cit.*, and P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalters*, (Munich, 1923) p. 97.

<sup>34</sup> See especially A. Ernault, *De Virgilio Marone grammatico* (Paris, 1886), p. 26 ff.

<sup>35</sup> I do not accept Grosjean's theory based on Lejay that the citation of *Glingio* in Aldhelm does not come from Virgilius Maro, but from a source common to both "peut-être un traité grammatical qui circulait sous le nom de Glengus" (Grosjean *art. cit.*, p. 406 and 406 fn.).



Virgil's work, though highly satirical in places, shows a considerable seriousness in others. For example, his division of *filosofia* ("learning") into the branches *poema*, *rhetoria*, *leporia*, *interalia* in my view, demonstrates neither ignorance nor parody of classical tradition, but rather may constitute an attempt to create an Hiberno-Latin "poetics" out of elements of Irish literary practice. A study of Virgilius Maro in this area may be of considerable use to Celticists, who have attempted for some time to set a precise definition for such literary terms as *retoiric*. It is interesting that Gerard Murphy applies the term *retoiric* in the narrow sense to works "in which the rhythm of the lines varies greatly and no strict rule of alliteration prevails" as well as to poems composed "in short lines of almost identical rhythm with regular alliteration".<sup>36</sup>

Let us return to our problem of the *Rubisca*. Surely we find in it the perfect specimen of what Virgilius Maro calls a *poema*: *sui varietate contenta angusta atque obscura*. It also fits the classification of *poema* because it is *tetrametrus*. However, it is not lacking in the qualities of the *leporia*, namely *mordacitas* (raillery) and *mendacitas* (broad metaphor or hyperbole). Yet we remember that the *leporia* can be a mixed form, *nulla reprehensione*.

Do all these factors—the classical type of pseudonym, fictitious characters with fantastical comic names, correspondences of very rare words and word meanings, the employment of far-fetched *anaphora*, and the conformity to the metrical and poetic prototypes of the *Epitomae*—point to Virgilius Maro Grammaticus as author of the poem? Hardly with certainty. These affinities and agreements prove only an awareness of Virgilius and his doctrines on the part of the author, though we cannot exclude the possibility that Virgilius wrote the *Rubisca* as an illustration of his own poetics. The author was almost certainly an Irishman educated on *Hisperica Famina* and the literature surrounding them. He almost certainly knew the *Lorica*, and for this reason, I would place the *Rubisca*'s time of composition after 661.

One clue to the authorship that we have left to the last is the name *Olimbrianus*. We have already noted its playful affinity to *Olimpianus*. Yet we would be quite wrong to emend it to that form, for how do we explain the intrusive *r*? I am indebted to Dr. Próinséas Uí Chatháin, of University College, Dublin, for the analysis of that name into the elements *olim* and *Brianus*, i.e. formerly Brian! Was Brian the same of an Irish monastic composer before he assumed monk's habit? Grosjean, in his list,<sup>37</sup> does not mention a Brian.

<sup>36</sup> *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin, 1961), p. 3. For a markedly different discussion of that term, see the important article of Proinsias Mac Cana, *Celtica* 7 (1966), 65-90.

<sup>37</sup> *Irish Texts* (London, 1934), fasc. 4, p. 99.



However, an entry under the name Máeldub in the *Félire Óengusso* (Stokes, p. 224), proves more interesting. There, Máeldub is said to be of the race of Brian: "Máeldub immorro atberat comad do Eoganacht Caisil dó, nó is do síl Briain meic Echach Muidmedoin. .i. Máeldub mac Amalgaid meic Fothaid meic Conaill Gluni meic Briain meic Echach Muidmedoin."

What, then, is the sense of *olim Brianus*? In the *Hisperica Famina* there are several references to things being formerly something else, as, e.g. fire was once flint, a school slate was once a tree. In that sense a man could be described as *formerly* his ancestor. Note the use of *olim* in the *H. F.*, A538. How sure can we be that the Máeldub of the *Félire* can be identified with the founder of the *urbs Maildufi*? The evidence is not conclusive, but certain facts are favourable. He was the *daltae* of St. Féchín, who died, according to the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in 664.<sup>38</sup> Aldhelm succeeded his master as abbot in 675, so we can be fairly sure of that year as the date of that Máeldub's death. Apparently the Máeldub of the *Félire* founded a community, for that text refers to a *Muintir Mail duib*, which could correspond to Bede's *urbs Maildufi*.<sup>39</sup> On the negative side, St. Féchín is portrayed in the *Félire* as delivering a eulogy on Máeldub. This need not be conclusive, however. The author of the martyrology may well have been employing a literary convention in assigning a panegyric to the saint's spiritual father. There is considerable scope for invention in this case, where the known facts are few.

We conjectured that the Hisperic poems, Greek alphabet, and the Greek compositions could well be drawn from a school notebook of the young Aldhelm—either exercises or copies of the dictation of his master Máeldub. Now we noted above (p. 84) that Aldhelm was acquainted with at least the *Epistolae* of Virgilius Maro. Where else would he have acquired this knowledge except from Máeldub at Malmesbury? Aldhelm was at Malmesbury between 660 and 670, a period that coincides perfectly well with other evidence for the time of composition of the *Rubisca*. Is it not at least within the realm of possibility that Aldhelm received from his master one of Máeldub's own compositions that exhibits the heavy influence of the bizarre grammar. That the work may have been a specimen of the *juvenilia* of Aldhelm himself can be safely discarded, I think, on the basis of line 81 (cited above): *Uiam mecalbo (me calba) sennia secat*. "Bald old age cuts me from my path."

<sup>38</sup> Whitley Stokes, "Life of St. Féchín of Fore," *Revue celtique* 12 (1891), 319.

<sup>39</sup> *H.E.* 5.18.

Let us conclude with a brief summation:

1. The *Rubisca* was written after 661 by a poet thoroughly familiar with *Hisperica Famina* and the *Lorica* of Laidcenn. He was also acquainted with the grammatical and poetical theories as well as with certain *lexica rariora* of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus. The poet was more likely an Irishman than an English imitator of *Hisperica Famina*.

2. Aldhelm shows close acquaintance with *Hisperica Famina* in his more abstruse writings and we have at least one clear citation of Virgilius Maro. It is almost certain that a knowledge of such works was acquired from Máeldub, his teacher prior to his sojourn in Canterbury. Could he not also have learned the *Rubisca* from him, as that poem, so closely connected to the *Hisperica Famina* in vocabulary, comes to us through Canterbury, where Aldhelm studied, and is bound in our eleventh-century MS with another "Hisperic" poem, translation of hymns and prayers into Greek (though in Latin characters), and a Greek alphabet with strange names for the letters reminiscent of the Greek alphabet in the Irish *Auraicept na n-Éces*? Hence, that section of Cambridge Univ. Gg. V. 35 might be a copy of a notebook made by Aldhelm under Máeldub and taken to Canterbury.

3. That Máeldub himself might have written the poem is shown in the pseudonym *Olimbrianus* (referring to the poet). The Féilire Dengusso attests a seventh-century Máeldub, founder of a community, who may have come from the race of Brian. The author of the *Rubisca* alludes to his old age in the poem; it is probable that Máeldub was a *senex* in the 660's.\*

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\*P.S. I have just learned from Professor Bernhard Bischoff that a new manuscript of the *Rubisca* has been discovered. It is Paris, Ste. Geneviève 2410, saec. X-XI.

## THE STRUCTURE OF A LITERARY CYCLE\*

Abbreviations not listed in R.I.A. Contributions:

<i>Ann. Rosc.</i>	Annals of Roscreá (Gleeson and Mac Airt)
AT	Annals of Tigernach
BBCS	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.
CGH	Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I (O'Brien).
EIHM	Early Irish History and Mythology (O'Rahilly).
GRSH	Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae (Walsh).
JCHAS	Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.
JKAHS	Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society.
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy.

THE purpose of this study, of which the present article is the first instalment, is to outline the framework which underlies a particular cycle of legends and from this to draw some conclusions regarding the nature of the Irish traditional process. The cycle chosen is that which concerns Guaire Aidni, and this article will be chiefly concerned with its development in Munster. The sources used comprise genealogies, annals, regnal lists, saints' Lives, and various forms of *senchas* as well as what is normally regarded as literary material. A surprising degree of unity will be seen to emerge from a reconstruction of these often fragmentary sources. It is this unity which justifies the concept of a cycle, and my primary interest is in the unifying process which is what I principally mean by tradition.

One of the most striking features of the Guaire cycle is the complex system of personal relationships linking the protagonists. Such relationships may, in some instances, be the product of literary manipulation, but it is also possible, and even likely, that particular legends may have been consciously and deliberately woven out of historical or pseudo-historical materials. To complete the confusion the legendary material has frequently found its way back into the more staid historical sources, so that it is often quite impossible to distinguish primary material from secondary. Perhaps the distinction would have been impossible in any event, considering the nature of the tradition as summarized by Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh:

\* I wish to thank Professor Gearóid Mac Eoin who allowed me to consult his transcripts of the D.IV.I version of *Intheachta na nÓinmhítheadh* and the C.I.2 Life of Cummine Fota both of which he plans to publish shortly. I am grateful to Professor Ó Riain and to Donnchadh Ó Corráin for some useful references. But above all I wish to record my debt to the generous learning of Professor John V. Kelleher under whose direction I first carried out this study at Harvard University.

Senchaidh Éirenn umorro beg na gebther isin sen-aimsir difir etorra agus éinigh agus an drong da ngoirther aos dána aniu, uair ba h-aon sgoil go raibí do égsibh Éirenn uile an ionbhuidh sin . . .<sup>1</sup>

But despite the remarks of Mac Fir Bhisigh too drastic a distinction has generally been made. AU in particular has been regarded as a fixed point in a turning and bewildering world. I concede that it is emptying to ignore the stray quatrains, the more elaborate accounts of battles that come too close to saga, and the questionable marvels, and to cling obstinately to the all-important obits and round off the discussion with the "corrected" AU date. But this approach does not allow for the possibility that the saga may simply be an elaboration of an original annalistic entry, or that the apparent fact may be all that remains of the saga, or even that there is no fundamental distinction to begin with according to the relevant concept of history. As a working principle this means that we cannot summarily determine the reliability of information by reference to its context or apparent source. A more valid approach, which is that adopted here, is to test the consistency of the entire traditional *corpus*, establish its basic structure, and attempt to explain any deviations from it.

Again the reliability of the material is not necessarily dependent on the date of the language, and the general assumption that it is is an unfortunate legacy of a tradition of scholarship built on a linguistic foundation. Related to the direct equation of linguistic and material earliness is the concept of the original text which usually turns out to be the highest common factor of a number of linguistically early texts. The original, by this definition, is always lost, and as the concept serves no useful purpose and is theoretically unsound it will ultimately have to be abandoned. This is not to say that all the material is of equal value. While the degree of variation resembles that of myth which, as Lévi-Strauss says, "grows spiral-wise until the intellectual impulse which has originated it is exhausted," we cannot simply state with him that "we define the myth as consisting of all its versions"<sup>2</sup>. The historical element is too strong for that: there is an initial situation which did not exist for Lévi-Strauss (not necessarily a historical situation, but one clearly defined and understood) and this, rather than an abstract paradigm, will be our frame of reference. There is, of course, also some inconsistency, of which anachronism is but one form at one level, but a clear outline will be seen to emerge. Inconsistencies arise mainly in connection with peripheral characters, and any well developed body of material will attract all kinds of traditional debris.

<sup>1</sup> Ó Raithbheartaigh ed. *Geneal. Tracts*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, pp. 226, 213.



One of the main sources of evidence for the complexity and self-consistency of the cycle is the *Bansenchas*, a remarkable tract which has not received the attention it deserves.<sup>3</sup> One immediately anticipates objections to applying evidence of a twelfth-century antiquarian work to events of the seventh century, but what matters in traditional literature is not the date of a composition, but the genre to which it belongs. The *Bansenchas* impresses me as an antiquarian composition of the better kind. Where we can trace its sources in the traditional *corpus* its claims are generally confirmed or at least seem plausible. In this it contrasts favourably with the *Dindsenchas* which, while it does contain a layer of genuine tradition, is largely based on the etymological tradition deriving from Isidore of Seville. Isidore's *Etymologiae* created such a stir in the Irish literary world that a tradition was invented to the effect that the great Táin itself had been exchanged for it.<sup>4</sup> And in a sense it had, for the new method was pursued with depressing thoroughness. The model was fatally easy to imitate: in the words of Dr. Johnson with reference to Macpherson's *Ossian* "A man might write such stuff forever would he but abandon his mind to it." The greatest defect of the etymological tradition was that, as Bergin states: "Etymology was a game with no rules. It was a matter of guesswork and one guess was as good as another."<sup>5</sup> Native tradition, by contrast, was very much governed by rules and Gilla Mo Dutu, author of the LL *Bansenchas*, knew both the tradition and the rules. Furthermore the nature of his material prevented the kind of wholesale invention which we find in the *Dindsenchas*. It is not free from contradiction, but the contradiction is meaningful and leads back into the tradition, rather than petering out, as *Dindsenchas* entries often do, in the exhaustion of the author's ingenuity.

<sup>3</sup> Margaret E. Dobbs ed. *The Ban-shenchus*, RC xlvii (1930), 282-339; xlviii (1931) 163-234; xlix (1932), 437-89.

In connection with the LL recension reference will always be below to LL III (see Best and O'Brien, Dublin, 1957); elsewhere reference will be made to the MSS. when necessary.

<sup>4</sup> Tomás Ó Máille, *Ériu* ix (1921), 71-6; T. F. O'Rahilly, *Ériu* x (1926), 109.

Unlike Ó Máille I do not regard the tradition as being literally true. The example which he quotes in support of its credibility, that "Colum Cille sent his famous poem *Altus prosator* to Pope Gregory the Great in return for a gift of a gold cross" (p. 75) is hardly convincing. Gregory's position in Irish legend was such that he was given full citizenship as a member of the *Corco Duibne* (Paul Walsh ed. GRSH, p. 78, par. Cf. BB 145 c 45 where the same pedigree is given although wrongly placed with the *Múscraige* genealogies.) A note to *Félire Óengusso* at March 12 states that his coffin and body was cast ashore on Aran (*Fél.* p. 96; cf. ZCP iii (1900), 39). For legends associating him with Colum Cille see O'Kelleher and Schoepperle ed. BCC, pp. 206 ff.

Despite the anachronism involved—Gregory died in 604, prior to the composition of the *Etymologiae*—I would suggest that the "suí Rómánach" of the *Táin*-recovered legends is also to be identified with Gregory.

<sup>5</sup> PBA xxiv (1939), p. 206.

While women were not regarded as being nearly as important as places,<sup>6</sup> the *Bansenchas* is all the more important for being atypical. The very unimportance of the female as far as the more official sources were concerned—and the heroine is allowed to remain anonymous even in such tales as *Fingal Rórdain* and *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*—must have been a factor in the development of the *Bansenchas*. The woman's greater mobility, the fact that she might marry three or four men of some stature and have children by each of them, encouraged the legendary process. We shall see that a favourite unifying device is that of uterine relationship, and as the official genealogy invariably runs in the male line it is difficult to state with certainty that the legend cannot reflect historical fact. This is particularly true of material, such as that to be discussed here, where the various sources complement each other, and there are few obvious anachronisms.

Guaire's own pedigree provides a good example of the complementary nature of our sources. The official Uí Fiachrach genealogies are basically in agreement as to his position,<sup>7</sup> whereas the *Bansenchas* and related materials disagree as to the identity of his mother. It is by way of the female line that the legends develop and the characters are brought together. Of the following three versions the first has remained sterile in terms of legend. The second can be shown to be the result of a late scribal error and therefore unreal. The third will lead us directly to the centre of the development of the cycle in Munster. These versions are (a) That Guaire's mother was of the Tratraige e.g.

Aedammair Delgnach tren trebar/Tratraigeach  
... mathair Guairi Aidni féil.<sup>8</sup>

(b) That his mother was Cumman daughter of Dallbrónach, and that he was therefore uterine brother to Caimín of Inis Celtra. This Cumman is regularly credited with a numerous progeny including Caimín,<sup>9</sup> but the only source I know for Guaire's inclusion is FM s.a. 662<sup>10</sup>:

<sup>6</sup> Cf. D. A. Binchy's remarks in Myles Dillon ed. *Early Irish Society* p. 58 and Brian Ó Néill ed. *Seven Centuries of Irish Learning* p. 70. For a catalogue of women's defects see *Tec. Corm.* p. 28; cf. BnNE I, p. 177, Sc. M<sup>2</sup> p. 3; *Keat* II p. 338 etc.

<sup>7</sup> For convenient charts see O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachr.* opp. p. 476; Kelleher, *Celtica* ix (1971), 112; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, p. 298.

<sup>8</sup> LL 17049-52. Cf. RC xlviii, 185 and *ibid.* p. 218. For Tratraige see O'Brien ZCP (1924), 237, and Hog. *Onom.* s.v. *tradraigi*, *tradraige dubrois*.

<sup>9</sup> BB 212 a 16 (which wrongly has Caemgein Indsi Cealtra 212 a 29); Lec 34 Ra 1; LL 354 d 10 (cf. LL 372 d 13 where the list is omitted); *Anecd.* III, pp. 3-4; *Ir. Texts* I p. 104, par. 322. Cf. *Ir. Texts* IV, pp. 93-4 where the mother's name is given as 'íonmhaith inghen Bháed.' Cf. also Plummer *Misc. Hag. Hib.* p. 230, par. 195. The number of her progeny varies, and the list is wildly anachronistic.

<sup>10</sup> *loc. cit.* Colgan is wrong in stating that the quatrain (which he quotes) occurs in the Martyrology of Gorman (*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* p. 339, n. 17). His source was most certainly FM.

Rob ionann mathair do Guaire ⁊ do Caimine Insi Celtra, amhail asbearar  
Cumman, inghean Dallbronaigh, mathair Cammín is Guaire  
Moirseisear ar seachtmoghat, as sedh ro geanair uaithe.

This statement is almost certainly a misreading of a marginal quatrain in Laud 610<sup>11</sup>:

Cumma(i)n ingin Dallbrónaid máthair Cammín co nglúaire,  
mórfeisir ar chethrachait, is ed rogēnair hūaidi.

The misreading of the numeral was a commonplace error. A number of factors, including their obvious similarity, may have contributed to the alteration of "co nglúaire" to "is Guaire" (= "co nGuaire").<sup>11</sup> Guaire and Caimín are also brought together in the saga of the battle of Carn Conaill, although they are on opposite sides. But the strongest factor must have been the confusion of Caimín with Cummine Fota of Clonfert (see tradition (c) below), just as they are confused in different versions of the Carn Conaill saga.<sup>12</sup> A glance at the index of personal names in CGH s.v. Cummine, Cumne, will show how readily this might take place;<sup>13</sup> indeed the forms which I employ are arbitrary ones.

(c) That Guaire was uterine brother to Cummine Fota and others:

Rim ingen Fiachna meic Fiachrach Gairine meic Duach Iarlaithi mathair  
Cumaine meic Fiachna ⁊ Comgain Meic Da Cerda ⁊ Guairi meic Colmain  
Crimthand Caeil meic Aeda Cirr, rig Laigean, ⁊ Chuana meic Cailchinea  
Laech Liathmune, ⁊ Bracain Dairindse.<sup>14</sup>

There is a curious echo of this grouping in the LL *Bansenchas*:

Guaire. Crimthand. Cuanu. Comgan.  
Cummain Breccan bec a briathra cen bafis<sup>15</sup>

Margaret Dobbs failed to identify this group, as she informs us in a note to this passage, no doubt because it is strangely out of place in the *Bansenchas*. Gilla Mo Dutu seems to have been working from various sources and has not integrated the ending with the rest of the verses. Breccán (or Braccán) cannot be satisfactorily identified, nor can we say which of the several places called Dairinis is in question. Crimthann mac Áeda poses the reverse problem as there are too many

<sup>11</sup> ZCP viii (1912), 334 n; Cf *Celtica* vi (1963), 148.

<sup>12</sup> In Eg. 1782 (= SG I, p. 397) Cummine Fota replaces Caimín who contributed to Diarmait's victory in LU 9608 ff. and LL 36047 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Todd, *Leabhar Imuinn* I, p. 91.

<sup>14</sup> Lec 34 Va 36; cf. Lec. 164 Re 40; BB 213 a 40, LL 372 c 20. Cf. *Ir. Texts* II, p. 94, par. 197 (with misreading *Rini* for *Rim*). Cf. Mac Cana *Études Celt.* vii (1955) 97, n. 4. In *Mart. Don.* at November 12 Rimh is also said to be the name of the mother of Cummine Fota.

<sup>15</sup> LL 17381-2.



f him; he may be identified with (a) Crimthann m. Áeda m. Šenaig of Uí Máil or (b) Crimthann m. Áeda Cirr m. Colmáin of Uí Dúnlainge.<sup>16</sup> In either case he belongs to the Laigin, and the traditions relating to him will not be discussed here, other than to mention that he appears as a *dalta* of Diarmait mac Áeda Sláine in *Tochmarc Becfola*, and that the Uí Dúnlainge version of his pedigree would make him a nephew of Rónán m. Colmáin (d. 624 AU) who is very likely to be identified with Rónán m. Áeda who gives his name to *Fingal Rónáin*.<sup>17</sup> The three other characters mentioned —Cummíne Fota, Comgán Mac Dá Chérda, and Cuanu mac Cailchíne/Ailchíne—are the pivots on which the Munster development of the cycle turns. These will be discussed in detail below, beginning with Cummmíne Fota.

It is the way of traditions to overlap and never fully coincide, but rather to continually self-propagate and expand, as new nuclei, which serve as points of departure for further legends, are created. So at the very moment of recording tradition (c) above Colgan encounters such a point of departure which shifts the focus of our attention to Cóganachta Locha Léin. Colgan writes "Rima (seu rectius Mugania) filia Fiachae filii Fiachrii filii Duach Iarlaithe mater Cumini."<sup>18</sup> This alternative tradition, which has Mugain rather than Rim (Rim?) as the name of the mother of Cummmíne Fota, has been discussed by Todd and, in a broader context by Proinsias Mac Cana.<sup>19</sup> It is necessary to review this tradition, in so far as it concerns us, at this point.

In the *Lebor Brecc* notes to *Félire Óengusso* the following entry occurs at November 12:

dom chumain .i. Cumin fota mac fiachnai. comorba brenaind cluanai  
bertai ⁊ deoganacht lacha léin dó. aed din ainm diles chumin ⁊ druim  
aliter ainm abaile ⁊ hi cumín frith hicill fte inúib conaill gabra . . .

Mugain ingen fiachach find  
máthair cumine cheolbind  
sisi mugain amáthair  
sesium disi derbrathair

Damac déc rogensit omumain [leg. mugain] .i. uí escuip ocus .ui. rig.  
umain ⁊ comgall.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For tradition (a) see AU 633; AT p. 182; CS s.a. 633, FM s.a. 628. For tradition (b) see LL 5421; ZCP xix (1931), 88.

<sup>17</sup> The identification is not a new one. It is to be inferred from LL 316 a 10 and Lec. 1 Rb 11 = CGH p. 339:

Mac do Rónān mac Colmāin . . . Māel-Fathartaig; is é ro marbad la athair tria ét  
mal is irdaire.

f. CGH p. 75.

<sup>18</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 148, n. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff.; Mac Cana, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Fél.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. clxviii—clxix.



The evidence of tradition (c) above would in itself justify us in regarding the Comgall mentioned here as a mistake for Comgán (Mac Dá Cherda). We shall also see that the Cummine Fota—Comgán relationship is central to this new tradition which functions on an Eóganachta Locha Léin—Déissi axis, with excursions into Uí Liatháin, Éle Tuaiscirt, Uí Fídgenti, Fir Maige Féne, the Eóganachta of mid-Munster, and Uí Fiachrach Aidni. Furthermore I know of no tradition associating Comgall (of Bangor?) with the cycle. The mistake might easily originate in a wrong expansion of a suspension stroke (i.e. Comg̃), especially as Comgán was not a common name. Only one instance of the name occurs in the index to CGH, and that refers to Mac Dá Cherda.<sup>21</sup> Three persons of that name, none of any particular importance, are mentioned in AU. The relative frequency of the name Comgall, together with the pre-eminence of Comgall of Bangor, would pre-dispose a scribe ignorant of the Mugain tradition to make the substitution; indeed he might not even need the excuse of a suspension stroke to do so.

The *Lebor Brecc* note contains the basic elements of this tradition: that Cummine Fota was of Eóganachta Locha Léin; that he was conceived incestuously by Mugain from her own father Fiachu (generally Fiachna mac Fiachrach Garríne elsewhere); that he was abandoned on birth, discovered by Íte and fostered by her. The quatrain plays on the permutations of relationship which result from his incestuous origins, his mother being also his sister. This feature is elaborated elsewhere in a manner which suggests the influence of a riddle literature.<sup>22</sup> A similar quatrain which follows his pedigree in Rawl. B 502 explores the possibilities on the male side: his father is also his grandfather, and the ancestral bond is correspondingly strengthened.<sup>23</sup> These are mere snatches of a larger tale which occurs in the *Liber Hymnorum* as the mixed Latin and Irish introduction to the hymn attributed to Cummine Fota and in the D.IV.1 version of *Imtheachta na nÓinmhítheadh*.<sup>24</sup> The *Liber Hymnorum* account adds a further complication by giving (F)land as the name

<sup>21</sup> The Comgán mentioned in the account of the so-called West-Munster Synod (ZCP viii (1912), 315) is probably to be identified with Mac Dá Cherda as will appear below.

<sup>22</sup> Such riddles on relationships, often in verse, are common in Modern Irish. Cf. *Béaloides* xiii (1943), 72, where a quatrain closely similar in form to that quoted occurs:

Is tú Aodh, is tú mac Aodha,  
Agus inghean d'Aodh is í do mháthair,  
Is tú m'fhear, is tú mo mhac,  
Is mé do bhean, agus do mháthair.

The use of riddles in narrative is not unusual. For instance the description in BDD<sup>2</sup> II.1 827 ff. probably originated as a riddle, and closely resembles Mod. Ir. examples such as occur in *Béaloides*, *ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>23</sup> CGH, p. 226.

<sup>24</sup> *Lib. Hymn.* I, pp. 16–18; D.IV.1 27 Va 5ff. (The B.IV.1 version of the *Imtheachta* is acephalous and does not contain the account of Cummine's conception.)

There is also some minor and probably secondary confusion as to Cummine's patrimony. We have seen that the *Lebor Brecc* note to *Féilire Óengusso* places him with Eóganachta Locha Léin. Similarly the notes to the later edition of the *Féilire* we find "Cummini mac achna . . . d'Euganacht Locha Léin dó" and "Cumain Fota mac achnai meic Fiachrach Gairine meic Duach meic Maine meic Airpri meic Cuirc meic Luigdech."<sup>28</sup> These pedigrees all agree with the standard one as given in CGH: "Cuimmíne .i. Cumminé Fota mac achna m. Fiachrach Garríne m. Duach Iarlaithi m. Maine m. Airpri m. Cuircc."<sup>29</sup> Rawl. B 502 errs here, as O'Brien notes, in placing him with Cenel nDalláin of Uí Liatháin. The error may not be altogether fortuitous as we shall see that Uí Liatháin are closely associated with Eóganachta Locha Léin within this cycle of tales. However the corresponding passage in LL, Lec., and BB correctly place him with the latter. The *Liber Hymnorum* account

<sup>9</sup> CGH, p. 226; cf. GRSH, p. 116, par. 8.

of his birth calls him "Cummaini Fota mac Fiachna rí Iar-Muman" and later says of him "Uenit autem postea ad patrem et ad patriam .i. co hEuganacht Lacha Léin".<sup>30</sup> The fragmentary account in *LL* which otherwise agrees closely with *Lib. Hymn.*, describes him "Cummine Fota mac Fiachnai di Eoganacht Chassil,"<sup>31</sup> and this version is supported by the closely related Life of Cummine Fota in C.I.2 (R.I.A.) which begins "Cumain Fota mac Fiachna di Eoganacht Caisil,"<sup>32</sup> and goes on to state that Cummine's father was Fiachna [sic] Muillethan mac Eógain who belongs to the pre-historic section of the Eóganachta genealogies. That such a linguistically early text could be so badly anachronistic, and in this respect inferior to the *Imtheachta*, shows again that there is no necessarily direct correlation between the language of the text and the information it contains. Language provides us with a *terminus ad quem*, not with a *terminus a quo*, but the distinction is not always clearly made.

The tradition that Cummine belonged to Eóganachta Caisil must be regarded as one of several secondary developments. For instance Cairpre Luachra, the alternative name for Eóganachta Locha Léin, also becomes confused with Ciarraige Luachra, and Cummine's father is on one occasion described in the *Imtheachta* as "Fiachra mac Fearcuso rich Ciarraigi Luochra."<sup>33</sup> There may even be an attempt to attach him to the Uí Fiachrach genealogies, possibly on account of his close relationship with Guaire, but I prefer to regard the "Cuimin Foda, mac Conaing (no Conaill), mic Fearghusa"<sup>34</sup> as a separate individual. In any case we cannot pursue him further and the cumulative evidence of the various sources justifies us in regarding the West-Munster pedigree of Cummine Fota as being the generally accepted one.

A further examination of Cummine's connections and relatives shows how extraordinarily well developed and self-consistent the West Munster-section of the cycle was. The dominant tradition makes him a third cousin of Áed Bennán m. Crimthaid m. Cobthach (d. 619 AU, 621 *Ann. Inisf.*) whose daughter or, as another version had it, grand-daughter, was Mór Muman:

Trí meic Áeda Bennáin ⁊ Damnatán ingine Feideilmid m. Thigernaich Mael-dúin Cuimmine, Mael-cáech. Mór Muman a siur nō combad do Mael-dúin bad ingen ut alii dicunt<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *loc. cit.* The "rí Iar-Muman" element presumably refers to Fiachna, and may be regarded as mere hyperbole.

<sup>31</sup> *LL* 36990.

<sup>32</sup> C. 1.2, 5a.

<sup>33</sup> D.IV.1, 28 Vb 22; cf. B.IV.1, 150 R.

The most regular tradition is also represented in the *Imtheachta*, e.g. D.IV.1, 27 Va 2.  
<sup>34</sup> *Hy Fiachr.* p. 44. Ironically the pedigree is given to distinguish this individual from "Cuimin, mac Dioma, mic Diarmada".

<sup>35</sup> CGH, p. 221.

the statement that Damna(i)t wife of Áed Bennán was daughter of Edelmíð m. Tigernaig is typical *Bansenchas*-type material and is repeated in the latter tract. The *Bansenchas* apparently knows only the tradition which held Mór Muman to be the daughter of Áed Bennán:

Ingen fial Feidilmid feta  
findmeic Thigernaig nár thláith  
Dámnat áeb na gréni a gellám  
ba ceili d'Áed Bennain blaith.

Cland d'Áed ra Damnait maith moltair.  
Mael Duin Congal. Cummain grind.  
Mael Canaig ba fer co firneim.  
Mór Muman ben Fíngin find<sup>36</sup>

The tale *Mór Muman ocus Aided Cuanach meic Ailchine*, which will be discussed in some detail below, also supports the tradition that Mór was daughter of Áed Bennán:

Áed Bennáin rí Irlochra dá mac déc lais 7 toera ingena . . . Mór Muman ingen Áeda Bennáin<sup>37</sup>

The tale goes on to describe how Mór became the wife of Fíngin m. Aeda Duib m. Crimthaind, king of Cashel (d. 619 AT, *Ann. Inisf*).<sup>38</sup> Their daughter was in turn wife of Guaire's brother Laidcnén, and Guaire himself:

Deog ingen Fhingin 7 Moiri Muman bean Laidgind m. Colmain 7 ba bean Guaire Aidni iartain<sup>39</sup>

Deoch bean Laidgnen moir meic Colmain  
is celi Guairi is glan ngloir<sup>40</sup>

It is true that there is some difficulty with the corresponding passage in LL. This will be discussed later. We are concerned here with the framework of the cycle, and there seems to be no doubt about the tradition which held that both Guaire and his brother were

<sup>36</sup> LL 17093-100. Cf. RC xlviii, 182, 219. Damnait and Áed [Bennán] are also mentioned together in LL 35799.

<sup>37</sup> LL 35737-9. Cf. O'Nolan, *PRIA*, XXX. C (1912), pp. 261-82.

<sup>38</sup> In the tale he is simply called "Fíngin mac Aeda." In the Lecan prose *Bansenchas*, doubt under the influence of this group of tales, he is called impossibly "Fíngin mac Aeda Bennain" (RC xlviii, 182). The Uí Maine prose has "Fíngin mac Aeda Allain," *ibid.* p. 219), a version which also occurs in the *Imtheachta* e.g. B. IV.1, 155 R, 165 V. Even if we presume that the person intended is Áed Uaridnach/Allán (Ollán) m. Domnaill Muirchertaig of Cenél nEógain (d. 612 AU) rather than his great-great-grandson Allán (Ollán) m. Fergaile m. Máeli-dúin (d. 743 AU), this version must still be regarded as a mistake.

<sup>39</sup> RC xlviii, 182.

<sup>40</sup> Lec. 211 Ra 35.



married to Mór's daughter was well established. A probable parody of this tradition occurs in the *Imtheachta*: One day the household of Fíngin (m. Áeda Duib) and Mór goes out to view the hunt—in IV.1. the leader of the hunt is named an Cuanu mac Cailchine—leaving only Mac Dá Cherda within in the company of the king and queen. Fíngin reflects that Ireland would be in a sorry state if only they three remained alive in it. Mór suggests that in that event Fíngin could hunt and Mac Dá Cherda could provide them with firewood and marry the child she was then bearing. Mac Dá Cherda mistakes the speculation for reality, and seizing an axe sets out to search for firewood. He finds none to his satisfaction until he arrives at Guaire's "bile" at Durlas (possibly the *bile rátha* of *King and Hermit*) which he proceeds to hack down.<sup>41</sup> This fantastic marriage of the unborn infant to the fool, followed by his mad career to Durlas and the assault on Guaire's *bile*, can hardly have been described without an awareness of the tradition that Guaire himself married the daughter of Fíngin and Mór.

To this group of characters we may add Mór's sister Suithchern Ruithchern who was carried off by Cuanu mac Cailchine, king of Fir Maige Féne,<sup>42</sup> whom we have seen described as uterine brother of Guaire, and who appears as his ally in the saga of the battle of Carn Conaill.<sup>43</sup> We then have Guaire's uterine brother married to a sister of Mór Muman, while Guaire himself and his full(?) brother are married to Mór's daughter. There is also Guas daughter of Máel dúin m. Áeda Bennáin whose husband Cúán m. Conaill of Uí Fidgen also supported Guaire at Carn Conaill according to the saga:<sup>44</sup>

Ingen do Mael Duin mac Aeda  
adriúg Muman na sreth soirb (sic leg.)  
Guas ceili Cuain meic Conaill . . .  
flaith Hua Fidgenti<sup>45</sup>

We have seen that the genealogies also record the tradition whereby Mór Muman herself was a daughter of Máel-dúin and therefore sister of this Guas.

To these figures we may further add Mugain, wife of Diarmait mac Cerbaill, who is relevant whether or not we concede Mac Cana's argument that she is ultimately the same as Mugain daughter of Fiachna m. Fiachrach Garríne, and that "the two Mugains are merely different localizations of the same goddess and that Mór Muman is simply a development of one of them".<sup>46</sup> Whatever their origin

<sup>41</sup> B.IV.1, 156 V ff; D.IV.1 33 Va 1 ff.

<sup>42</sup> O' Nolan *op. cit.* p. 265.

<sup>43</sup> ZCP iii (1900), 206.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> LL 17159-63; of RC xlvi, 185, 223.

<sup>46</sup> Mac Cana, *op. cit.* p. 98.

These characters are clearly distinguished in the tales, a situation which is not inconsistent with Mac Cana's thesis. Mugain wife of Diarmait m. Cerbaill may for our purposes be regarded as a separate individual. Characteristically she is a near relative of the other West-Munster figures, being the daughter of Conchrad m. Duach Liach m. Maine m. Cairpre m. Cuircc.<sup>47</sup> As wife of Diarmait m. Cerbaill she is the joint ancestress of the two principal branches of the southern Uí Néill, Síl nÁeda Sláine of Brega and Clann Cholmáin Móir of Mide:

Mugain ben Diarmatta datta.  
degingen Chonchraid meic Duach.  
A cland Colmán is Áed nach fellad . . .  
dib cland Cholmáin (*sic leg.*) na ríge rádi  
síl Aeda Sláine na slúag<sup>48</sup>

But evidently there was some doubt as to her position as ancestress of Clann Cholmáin Móir, for Gilla Mo Dutu continues:

Nó combad mathair cheirt Cholmain  
cland Brenaind Daill cáid na cross  
Erc co comthaitnim na clúmi  
do Chonmaienib Cúli atchlos.<sup>49</sup>

But this variation merely guarantees the density of the system. Erc is no less closely connected to the cycle than Mugain. Her father Brénaind Dall is here described as being of the Conmaicne Cúile, but he turns up in the genealogies of the neighbouring Uí Maine where we find him as grandfather of Marcán m. Tommáin,<sup>50</sup> husband of Guaire's daughter Créd. (Incidentally Áed Guaire opponent of Cuadán of Lorrha was brother of Brénaind Dall,<sup>51</sup> providing another example of the tendency of literary cycles or sub-cycles to operate in genealogical lines.) So if Mugain is grandmother of Diarmait m. Áeda Sláine, opponent of Guaire in the battle of Carn Conaill, Erc is the aunt of Guaire's son-in-law. We might also expect Marcán m. Tommáin to figure in the battle of Carn Conaill, but surprisingly the saga does not mention him. He is however mentioned in *Scéla Cano meic Gartnád* in connection with the battle.<sup>52</sup>

I do not wish to anticipate future consideration of the battle except to state that practically everybody involved in it belongs to the

<sup>47</sup> Rawl B 502, 151 a 28 = CGH p. 222. The historical problem posed by the attachment of Uí Duach to the Eóganachta does not concern us here. Cf. Rawl. B 502, 18 a 50 = CGH p. 197, and n. 93 below.

<sup>48</sup> LL 17035-40; Cf. RC xlviii, 180, 217.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.* 17041-4. This Erc is also called Eithne: LU 4239 = SG I, p. 83; RC xlviii 181.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Kelleher, *Celtica* ix (1971), 109.

<sup>51</sup> BB 117 b 10.

<sup>52</sup> *SCano* 11. 172-3, 183-5.

framework of legend as set out here. We have already mentioned Guaire, Diarmait m. Aeda Sláine, Marcán m. Tommáin, and Cúan m. Conaill, in this regard. It will be seen also that Cúan m. Amalgada another of Guaire's supporters was also related by marriage to Mór and that Uí Liatháin, if not actually Talamnach, their representative in the battle, are also involved in the cycle by way of Mór's sister Suitchern/Ruithchern. When we consider further that Guaire's daughter Créd is said to have composed *It é saigte gona suain* as lament for Dínertach, who, like Cúan m. Conaill, was of Uí Fídgenti,<sup>53</sup> and fell "isin treus Aidne," probably to be identified with the battle of Carn Conaill, it becomes obvious that we cannot consider the accounts of this battle which appear in the annals apart from the whole traditional context. This is especially so when all the annalistic accounts apart from AU and *Ann. Inisf.* can be shown to derive from the saga. And even AU and *Ann. Inisf.* are not necessarily more trustworthy, as they may simply have been stripped of their context. In any case the forces involved in the battle belong at least as much to literature as they do to history.

To return to Erc and Mugain, it may be that their association in tradition as wives of Diarmait m. Cerbaill may be responsible for the tradition, expressed in a poem in LU and LL,<sup>54</sup> that Mugain was also of Connacht. The first quatrain of this poem records the official doctrine that she was of Munster, while the last, which follows the official *dúnad*, refers to the alternative tradition:

Mugain ingen Chonchraid chain  
meic Duach din des Mumain . . .  
ben Diarmata meic Cerbaill

Is sí seo . . .  
cétfaid araile senchad . . .  
ba de Chonnachtaib Mugain

Similarly in the *Bansenchas* the tradition that Mugain was of Connacht does not occur in LL but appears in later renderings.<sup>55</sup> As usual the antiquarians wanted it both ways; faced with conflicting traditions they could never make up their minds. While this inability to analyze produces an impression of untidiness, it has also preserved many valuable pieces of information which tidier minds would have discarded.

Various other sources such as the *Life of Mac Creiche*, which incidentally has been badly underestimated by Plummer as an

<sup>53</sup> Despite Carney's objections (*Éigse* xiii, 1970, 230-2) I prefer the view that Dínertach m. Guaire m. Nechtain is simply a mistake for Dínertach m. Óengusa m. Nechtain (cf. Ó Corráin, *ibid.*, 83-84). But the whole question of Créd and her relationships with Dínertach, Marcán m. Tommáin and Cano m. Gartnáin, and her adoption as ancestress by the O'Connors and the Maguires, will have to be discussed separately.

<sup>54</sup> LU 4275-334 = SG I, p. 84; LL 18208-67. Ed. Windisch *Kgl. sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Berichte XXXVI* (1884) pp. 191-243.

<sup>55</sup> RC xlviii, 180, 217.

historical source,<sup>56</sup> show the wealth of material associated with the family of Áed Bennán. More relevant here is the Life of Mochuta as it runs through the whole gamut of characters from a granddaughter of Áed Bennán, to Cuanu mac Cailchíne, Máel-ochtraig m. Áeda (father of Mac Dá Cherda), and, of course, Diarmait m. Áeda láine. The passage of immediate relevance is that which describes his encounter with the first of these, a daughter of Máel-dúin m. Áeda Bennán who is variously called Noelethan and Dand.<sup>57</sup> She is said here to be the wife of Máel-tuille, king of Ciarraige Luachra. Like the other relationships we have discussed this is also entirely possible according to the genealogical and annalistic information. Máel-tuille is great-great-grandfather of Flann Feórna who died in 641 (*Ann. Inisf.*),<sup>58</sup> and the death of Máel-dúin m. Áeda Bennán is entered at 661 (*Ann. Inisf.*). Furthermore the latter seems to have been an old man when he died, his father having died in 619/621 (*Ann. Inisf.*).

The system of relationships as it affects Eóganachta Locha Lein may be expressed by means of the following chart. Whatever may be made of individual figures the structure as a whole cannot be dismissed lightly, and since it is consistently reflected in such diverse sources it must have been established at an early date. I do not see how retrospective unity could be achieved after the ninth century, and so I would propose 900 AD as a *terminus ad quem* for the establishment of the basic frame of reference.

From Eóganachta Locha Léin we move to Déissi Muman at the other end of Munster. The transition is mainly effected by the usual device of uterine relationship. The physical aspect of the relationship is certainly questionable, but it is none the less valuable for that as it actualizes an association which was already felt to exist, and which can be confirmed by other sources. In support of this device Cummine Fota is also said to have been set adrift in the river Suir thereby arriving at Déissi Muman, but the story is complicated at this point by a type of error common in oral narrative: two mutually exclusive patterns are utilized to resolve a single situation. So while it is necessary that Cummine reach the Déissi for the purpose of achieving continuity, it is also necessary that he be reared by Íte in Uí Chonaill Gabra in accordance with her

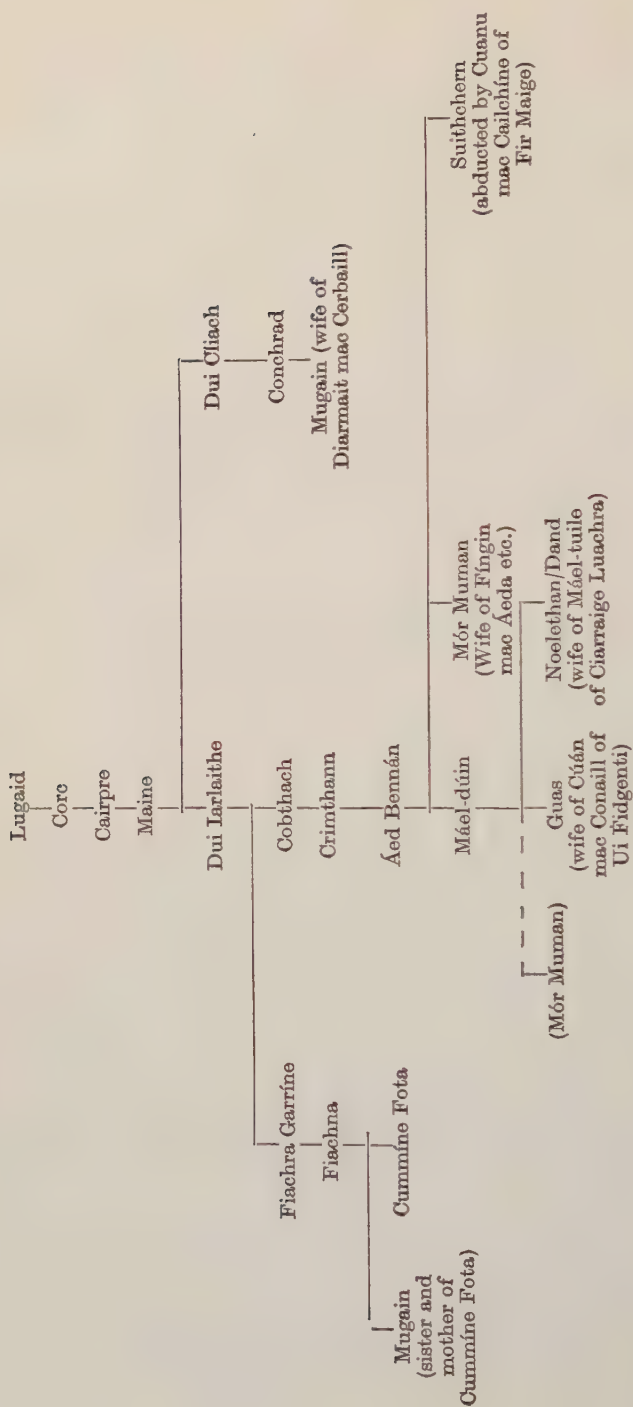
<sup>56</sup> *Misc. Hag. Hib.*, pp. 8-10.

<sup>57</sup> Called Noeleathan in *V. SS. Hib. I*, p. 172 but Dand in Power ed. *Lives of SS. Columban and Mochuda*, p. 78. Cf. Ó Corráin, *JKAHS* No. 1 (1968) p. 49, n. 15 a. Tolnat daughter of Máel-tuille was in turn held to be married to Máel-dúin: *LL* 101-2; *RC* xlviii, 182, 219.

<sup>58</sup> *Rawl. B* 502, 154 d 30 = *CGH*, p. 254.

It is probable that Colmán m. Rechtabrat, father of Fland Feórna, is the person who appears as a guarantor in *Cáin Adamnáin* (Meyer ed. p. 20). For "rí Fernae" read "rí Feórna"; Cf. "Tuaristal rig Feórna Flaind" with reference to the Ciarraige, Dillon ed. *bor na Cert*, 1.572.





accepted position as nurturer of saints such as Brénainn, MoChóemóg, and even of Christ himself. The result is that Cummine is shuttled backwards and forwards between Suir and Maigue and between the spiritual influence of Déclán and Mochuta and Íte.<sup>59</sup>

The circumstances by which uterine relationship was achieved are explained as follows in the *Imtheachta*: on the incestuous conception of Cummine a double marriage is arranged between Mugain and Maolochtair (i.e. Máel-ochtraig) of the Déissi on the one hand and between Cacht daughter of Máel-ochtraig and Fiachna, Mugain's father, on the other. Cacht subsequently drops out of the tale; he seems to be otherwise unknown to tradition and does not appear in the *Bansenchas*. Mugain had another son by Máel-ochtraig, regularly called Comgán, but said in one version of the *Imtheachta* to have been named Cumascach at first:<sup>60</sup> the variation will be seen to be of possible significance when we come to discuss his pedigree. A fragment edited from YBL by J. G. O'Keeffe<sup>61</sup> also picks up the story at this point: Comgán/Cumascach is accused of sleeping with the druid's wife, and, in revenge, the druid transforms him to a fool. The *Imtheachta* here follows the pattern of *Fingal Róndín* as the accusation is made by the druid's wife after she had failed to seduce him, whereas the YBL fragment seems to regard the offence as real. As a consequence of the transformation he is henceforth called Mac Dá Cherda, the name being explained as follows in the *Imtheachta*: "Comhdán mac an da cearda .i. da cheird bádur aige ceird bháoisí ⁊ ceird gaoisí."<sup>62</sup>

This description agrees with his function in tradition where he regularly appears as an inspired fool: "óinmit side ⁊ fáith Dé."<sup>63</sup> In this capacity he may be associated with such characters as Suibne and Moling; some of the verse in the *Imtheachta* is strongly reminiscent

<sup>59</sup> The connection of Déclán and Íte (d. 570 *Ann. Inisf.*; 570, 577 AU) with Cummine (d. 661 *Ann. Inisf.*; 662 AU) is, of course, historically impossible.

It is interesting to note that as Cummine was reared and died in Uí Fídgenti, as narrated in the C.1.2 Life, so his death as well as his birth is associated with a river, as his body is taken up the Shannon to Leth Cuinn for burial (*Bruchst.* No. 96), presumably at Clonfert: in FM s. a. 1162 (i.e. 500 years after his death) we are told that his relics were taken from the earth and enshrined at Clonfert. Otherwise the evidence linking Cummine with Clonfert is tenuous enough; of the annals only *Ann. Inisf.* (s.a. 661; cf. *ibid.* s.a. 570) and FM support it. Colgan says (*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* p. 149, n.7) that Guaire brought him to Connacht and established him as abbot at Clonfert, but this statement is based on the tradition that he was uterine brother to Guaire (*a Guarío . . . parte matris fratre*) and is probably not reliable. No mention of his connection with Clonfert is made in the *Imtheachta* or in any of the related material, apart from the LB note to *Fél.*<sup>2</sup> quoted above.

<sup>60</sup> D. IV.1, 28 Vb 7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ériu* v (1911), 34.

<sup>62</sup> B.IV.1, 160 V; Cf. D.IV.1, 29 Va 30. Colgan's explanation of the name "quia in extreme fatuus mox summe prudens" is taken from this. He himself refers us to his source "Vide plura . . . in actis Cumdhani et Conalli idiotarum" (*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 149, n. 7,8).

<sup>63</sup> LL 35774.

of *Buile Súibhne*, and Moling was also credited with the same extremes of folly and wisdom.<sup>64</sup> That actual confusion of Moling and Mac Dá Cherda did occur is shown by the appearance of a "Taircealtach mac na cearta" in *TFrag.* s.a. 858: Tairchell was the original name of Moling,<sup>65</sup> and "mac na cearta" is almost certainly Mac Dá Cherda,<sup>66</sup> straying out of his proper time frame. In this regard we might expect a close connection between Mac Dá Cherda and Marbán, Guaire's half-brother, in view of the association of themes relating to the wild man and the hermit,<sup>67</sup> in addition to the fact that both belong to the same literary setting in this instance. But apart from *King and Hermit* and what Carney calls Tradition B of the *Táin*-recovery legends,<sup>68</sup> Marbán is almost unknown to tradition. Various reasons have been proposed for this,<sup>69</sup> and I do not wish to discuss them or to introduce my own explanation here, except to state what is already agreed: that Marbán is a late literary creation who never took root properly in tradition. It is true that in that most literary of works, *Aisl. MC*, they are said to have studied together at Armagh.<sup>70</sup> They are mentioned together again in the B.IV.1 version of the *Imtheachta* where with Colum Cille they make up a stereotyped triad of early Irish prophets,<sup>71</sup> but Marbán does not appear as a character proper in any of the texts. Mac Dá Cherda does encounter Guaire's swineherd but the latter's name is given as "Dub Dá Chet mac Moraind Min-fiaclaigh a crichaibh Corco Duibhne nó Baiscind."<sup>72</sup> Characters who share Mac Dá Cherda's traits in the *Imtheachta* are Conall Clocach, Creigin fool of Fíngin and Mór Muman, and Odrán the son of their steward, an apprentice fool. Cumminé Fota is scarcely distinguishable from Mac Dá Cherda in the latter's prophetic moods and Dáibhidh Ó Duibhgeannáin, the scribe of B.IV.1, has had to correct his initial confusion of the pair on several occasions.

Despite the attention paid to Marbán it is evident that he is a very marginal figure in the cycle, and not at all well established. By contrast Mac Dá Cherda is a central figure, and belongs to a genealogical system which resembles that of Cumminé Fota although less elaborate. He appears in *Sanas Cormaic* as Moc[c]u Cerdda;

<sup>64</sup> Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics*, No. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Stokes ed. *Moling* chap. 3, par. 10, Cf. *Fel.* p. 150.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. "Quies Mc. na Cerda" *Ann. Inisf.* s.a. 645.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*, pp. 121-2.

<sup>68</sup> Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Most recently by Mac Cana, *BBCS* xix (1960), 1-6.

<sup>70</sup> *Aisl. MC* p. 7. Marbán's parents are here called "Becán" and "Becnait" which, though real names, were probably selected for their humorous content, and so make fun of Marbán himself.

<sup>71</sup> B.IV.1, 160 V. Apart from the *Imtheachta* Mac Dá Cherda is again mentioned as a prophet in the poem *Aisling ad-chonnaire Cormac, Éigse* v (1946), 86.

<sup>72</sup> D.IV.1, 33 Vb 21.

this may have been the earliest form of the name, and would suggest that he belonged to some branch of the Cerdraige. If so the tradition has not survived, and LU and LL generally have Mac Da/Dá Cherda. The form Mac Mo Cherda also appears in LL, and there are still other versions of the name.<sup>73</sup>

Generally Mac Dá Cherda seems to have been attached to the *Uí Rossa* line of the *Déissi*. The LL genealogies read "Fogertach m. Mael-umai m. Áeda m. Fíngin. Dā mac Áeda : Mael-uma et Mael-c[h]traig." Lec. adds "Áenmac ac Mael-ochtraich .i. Comgān .i. n rigōinmit."<sup>74</sup> This would make him a close relative of Temair wife of Diarmait m. Áeda Sláine according to the evidence of the *LL Bansenchas*.

Ben Diarmata rigda Ruanaid  
rathmar Temair thenn in main.  
ba ingen d'Aed Builg mac Fíngin . . .  
mathair Chernaig Sotail sair<sup>75</sup>

Significantly this passage comes immediately after that which treats of Guaire and his brother Laidcnén, and immediately precedes mention of Guaire's daughter Geilgéis and Créd. The identity of the Temair in question is placed beyond doubt by the Lec. and *Uí Maine* prose *Bansenchas* which calls her father king of the *Déissi*:

Teamair ingen Aeda Buile m. Fhingen ri na nDesi bean Diarmada Ruanaig  
A. Aeda Slaine, mathair Chearnaigh Sotail<sup>76</sup>

That the Áed m. Fíngin of the genealogies was also known as Áed Bolg/Builg is confirmed by the *Imtheachta* where Mac Dá Cherda's father is called "Maolochtair mac Aodha Builg."<sup>77</sup> The following

<sup>73</sup> The following examples will give an idea of the distribution (I ignore minor variation in spelling):

(a) Moc[c]u Cerdda : *Corm. Y* s.v. *ána*.

(b) Mac Da/Dá Cherd(d)a : LU p. 289 n. (in hand H); LL 5036, 28103, 29770-1, 9829; AT (= AU) 641; LB f. 92 (upper margin); Meyer ed. *Liadain and Cuirithir* pp. 2-14; *Aisl. MC*, p. 7.

(c) Mac Mo Cherda LL 35774, 35778, 35784.

Forms (b) and (c) interchange in the tales edited from YBL by J. G. O'Keeffe, *Ériu* v (1911), 18-44. Similar Mo/Do variation is, of course, common in hypocoristic forms of saints' names.

(d) Mc. na Cerdá *Ann. Inisf.* s.a. 645; Cf. *T.Frag.* s.a. 858. He is also almost certainly the Mac na Cairre(a) of the H.3.18 version of *Aisl. MC* (Meyer ed. pp. 114 ff.) It is possible that the "mac/meic Aoinchearda Bérré" of the Fionn material is a development of Mac Dá Cherda on the analogy of the apparent numeral.

<sup>74</sup> CGH, p. 399.

<sup>75</sup> LL 17147-52.

<sup>76</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 185; cf. *ibid.*, p. 222.

<sup>77</sup> e.g. B.IV.1, 151 V; D.IV.1, 29 Vb 2.

The same variation is seen in two versions of the Convention of Drúim Cett: in one he is called "rí Dessi Aed mac Fíngin" (RC xx, 1899, 138), but in the other

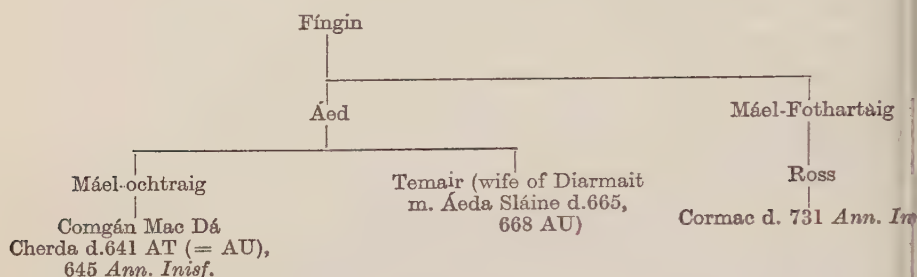
Aed Balc mac Fíngin co mbridh

ba rí for dronga nDéisidh

(ZCP xiii, 1919, 98)



chart shows the relationship of Mac Dá Cherda to Temair, wife of Diarmait Ruanaid. I add Cormac m. Rossa m. Máile-Fothartaig, since his obit may be of some relevance in assessing the claims of an alternative genealogy. Apart from Temair, whom I add from the *Bansenchas*, the rest is constructed from the Uí Rossa genealogy as it appears in CGH pp. 398–9:



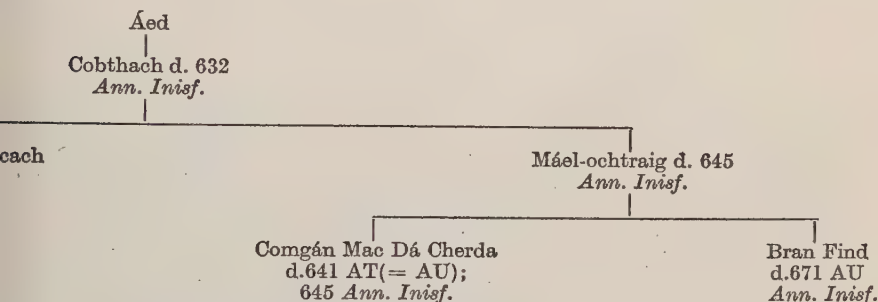
The relationship of Mac Dá Cherda to Temair wife of Diarmait m. Áeda Sláine recalls the more distant relationship of Cummine Fota to Mugain wife of Diarmait m. Cerbaill. Added to the tradition that Mac Dá Cherda and Cummine Fota were uterine brothers, that Diarmait m. Cerbaill and Diarmait m. Áeda Sláine were often confused (and in any case stood in a grandfather—grandson relationship), and that the latter plays a vital part in the Guaire cycle, the sum of these correspondences indicates an extremely closeknit and well developed *corpus* of material. An important point of contact is provided by the tale *Mór Muman ocus Aided Cuanach meic Ailchine* (in which Mac Dá Cherda also figures) where Mór Muman ousts the daughter of the king of the Déissi as wife of Fingin m. Áeda Duib m. Crimthainn (d. 619 Ann. Inisf.).<sup>78</sup> The ousted queen was probably held to be the daughter of Máel-ochtraig, although this cannot be confirmed from the *Bansenchas*. However one version of the latter text does state that Máel-ochtraig was married to a daughter of Fáilbe Fland, brother of Fingin m. Áeda Duib.<sup>79</sup> Fáilbe Fland turns up again as Guaire's adversary in the battle of Carn Feradaig (AU 627, Ann. Inisf. 629). I hope to show elsewhere that the annalistic accounts of this battle are even less reliable than those relating to the battle of Carn Conaill (AU, Ann. Inisf. 649), but it is sufficient here to note the coincidence that Máel-ochtraig's wife is the daughter of Guaire's conqueror in the earlier battle, and his sister the wife of his conqueror in the later. Furthermore, as we have

<sup>78</sup> LL 35750 ff; O'Nolan, *op. cit.* pp. 262–3.

<sup>79</sup> RC xlviii, 182. Here Fáilbe Fland's daughter is called *Faillind*. In the Irish Life of Mochuta she is called *Cuciniceas*; cf. VSH I, p. 195, where she is unnamed. It must be said that Máel-ochtraig's pedigree varies: in the *Bansenchas* he is called *mac Dineartaig* and in VSH *filius Cobhthaig* neither of which agrees with this version of Mac Dá Cherda's pedigree. The variation, and the probable reason for it, will be discussed below.

en, his daughter was probably held to be the wife of Fíngin m. Aeda Duib, whose daughter by Mór Muman was wife of Guaire himself. This scenario involves some minor juggling with generations but it is none the less valuable for that as an example of how a body legend is assembled.

The Uí Rossa were a relatively unimportant branch of the Déissi and it is not surprising to find that Mac Dá Cherda is elsewhere understood to belong to the principal line. So in one of the episodes cited in *Ériu* v he is said to be the brother of Bran Find m. Máel-ochtraig ("Brathair do-som Bran Find mac Maile Ochtraich. i. gdamna side dino").<sup>80</sup> This can only refer to Bran Find m. Máel-ochtraig m. Cobthaig whose obit occurs in 671 (AU and *Ann. Inisf.*). The obits of his father and grandfather are recorded in *Ann. Inisf.* 645 and 632 respectively. The immediate genealogy as constructed from CGH pp. 394-5, with the addition of Mac Dá Cherda on the evidence of the literary tradition would then be as follows:



This variant is also known to the B.IV.1 version of the *Imtheachta* where Mac Dá Cherda is at one point called "mac Mhaolochtair i. mac Cobhthaigh,"<sup>81</sup> and although it does not explicitly appear in B.IV.1 the fact that it is said there that Mac Dá Cherda was first named Cumascach suggests it,<sup>82</sup> as he has an uncle named Cumascach in this line.

In general it would seem likely that the earlier of these traditions is that he belonged to the Uí Rossa, and that as the legends surrounding him developed he was transferred to the main line. This inference was facilitated by the fact that a Máel-ochtraig occurs at a suitable point in both lines. However it must be admitted that in terms of his traditional association with such characters as Guaire, Máel-míne Fota, and Fíngin m. Aeda Duib m. Crimthainn, and his annalistic obit, he fits better as brother of Bran Find and son of Máel-ochtraig m. Cobthaig than in the same generation as Cormac.

*op. cit.* p. 36, also p. 38. Cf. n. 79 above.

B.IV.1, 178 R.

See note 60 above.

m. Rossa m. Máile-Fothartaig of Uí Rossa (d. 731 *Ann. Inisf.*). The legends attaching to Máel-ochtraig, who is of considerable importance in his own right and who appears independently of Mac Dá Cherda, also probably originated with the Uí Rossa figure. Although the surviving evidence is contradictory there would seem to be no motivation for movement in the opposite direction. As it is almost impossible to kill off any tradition effectively, the earlier one has also survived in this instance.

In fact there is a third version of the pedigree of Mac Dá Cherda and Máel-ochtraig which cannot be reconciled with any genealogical line known to me. This appears (a) in *Liadain and Cuirithir*, (b) in one of the *Ériu* v episodes, and (c) in the Lecan prose *Bansenchas*. The last of these has already been referred to.<sup>83</sup> The relevant passages of the other texts are

- (a) Co n-accae Mac Dá Cherda cucai. Óinmit side, mac Máile-ochtraig maic Dinertaig dona Déssib Muman<sup>84</sup>
- (b) In Mac Da Cherda imraithe sund, mac side Maile Ochtraig, meic Dinertaich .i. ri na nDeisi Maigi Femin o Dun Letrach for Siuir<sup>85</sup>

We complete the survey of Déissi characters with Conamail m. Suibne described in *Ériu* v as "Foglaid do Moel Ochtraig fo choill oc cosnom rigi".<sup>86</sup> This Conamail was of Uí Fíothaid: in CGH he appears as Conamail m. Suibne m. Commáin,<sup>87</sup> and among his brothers is Congal who appears in *Cáin Adamnáin* as "Conghal mac Suibnei ri inna nDéissiu."<sup>88</sup> The obit of this Congal occurs at 701 in AU, and so the association of Conamail (whose death is not entered in the annals) with Mac Dá Cherda would seem, of necessity, anachronistic.

Mention has been made above of *Liadain and Cuirithir*, and Frank O'Connor has included it in the cycle on literary grounds.<sup>89</sup> This text is closely connected with the prose introduction to the lament of the Caillech Bérrí. Cumáine Fota who is said to bless the Caillech's veil appears in *Liadain and Cuirithir* as guardian of the lovers' chastity. There is also a marked verbal correspondence:

- (a) Liadain ben do Chorco Duibne .i. benéces . . . messe féin ó Chille Conchinn.
- (b) Sentane Bërre, Digdi a ainm, di Chorco Dubne dī .i. di Uaib maic Tair C[h]onchinn . . . Is diib dono Liadain ben Chuirithir<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Note 79 above.

<sup>84</sup> *Liad. and Cuir.*, p. 12.

<sup>85</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>87</sup> LL 328 c 50 etc. = CGH, p. 400.

<sup>88</sup> *Cáin Ad.* p. 18.

<sup>89</sup> *The Backward Look*, pp. 57-8. Cf. Greene and O'Connor *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry* pp. 7-8. For Mongán read Marbán in his list of characters.

<sup>90</sup> (a) *Liad. and Cuir.* pp. 12, 18.

(b) Murphy ed. *The Lament of the Old Women of Beare*, PRIA 55 C 4 (1953) p. 83. Cf. ZCP xix (1933), 175.

This raises many problems: for instance Uí Meic Iair were of the Eóganachta not of Corco Duibne, and I think it likely that for Uí Meic Iair Chonchinn(e) we should read Uí Meic Eirc Chonchinne. The latter were also known as Cenél Conchinne, and belonged to the Corco Loígde.<sup>91</sup> The fact that there was also an Áes Conchind in both Corco Loígde and Corco Duibne<sup>92</sup> would account for the Caillech's transference to the latter, and in any event the substitution of Uí Meic Iair for Uí Meic Eirc which must have taken place prior to the composition of *Liadain and Cuirithir*, would have left a later editor quite confused as to the Caillech's homeland. But the transition was never completely made and even in the account of her fosterage of Corc Duibne the placenames—Bó Boí, Inis Boí, Tech nDuinn—suggest Corco Loígde rather than Corco Duibne.<sup>92a</sup> It is possible then that, as first suggested to me by Professor Kelleher, her seven periods of youth may refer to these seven Corco Loígde kings of Osraige<sup>93</sup> whom she may be understood to have wedded in accordance with the familiar theme which we elsewhere find associated with Corco Loígde in the person of Lugaid Loígde<sup>94</sup> and which Mac Cana has shown to have wide currency in Munster generally. This might also go some way towards explaining a contradictory feature often noted with regard to the Caillech's lament that the placenames belong primarily to East and Central Munster. To the author royalty in contemporary terms meant the Eóganachta kingship and it is of the enduring nature of this and places such as Mag Femin associated with it, that the Caillech is envious.

The Caillech is also connected with Corco Loígde by way of the lost tale of her romance with Fothud Canann, mentioned in Lists A and B.<sup>95</sup> Fothud Canann regularly appears in the Corco Loígde genealogies,<sup>96</sup> and while no historical importance can be attached to

<sup>91</sup> "Nunc [Hui Meic-] hEi[re] . . . Is ed Cenél Conchinni" CGH, p. 261; cf. O'Donovan, *Misc. of Celt. Soc.*, pp. 32, 36.

<sup>92</sup> For Áes Conchind of Corco Duibne see LL 324 f 55 etc. = CGH, p. 378. For Áes Conchind of Corco Loígde see Rawl. 155 a 34 etc. = CGH, p. 259.

The latter are usually called Áes Conchind Mingthi but in LL 325 h 1 and BB 197 a 6 the name is Áes Achaid (Achaig BB) Mingthi. This merely compounds the problem as there is a placename Cell Achaid Conchinn in Corco Duibne (cf. Hog. *Onom.* s.v. "cell achid conchinn," also Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 264, par. 17, and Plummer, VSH I p. 17, par. xxii). This is probably also the *Cill Conchinn* of *Liad. and Cuir.*, p. 18.

<sup>92a</sup> ZCP xxvii (1957), 32 ff; cf. *Anecd.* I 18 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. William Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, I, pp. 30 ff.; Ó Buachalla, JCHAS, Vol. 59 (1954), p. 117, n. 14.

Incidentally the first such king of Osraige was Conchrad m. Duach father of Mugain, wife of Diarmait m. Cerbaill.

<sup>94</sup> *Met. Dinds.* IV, pp. 136 ff.; IT III, p. 322; *Misc. Celt. Soc.*, pp. 70 ff.; *Keat.* II, p. 148.

<sup>95</sup> List A : LL 24992; List B : *Anecd.* II, p. 46, par 7. In list B the title *Searc Cailligi Berre do Fotha[d] Canaínde* is followed immediately by *Serc Crede do Canann mac Gartain*. The grouping may be significant as it regularly is in the *Bansenchas*. (*Scéla Cano* is not referred to in list A.)

<sup>96</sup> *Misc. Celt. Soc.* pp. 8-10; 42-4. But there is a good deal of variation for which see EIHM, p. 11.



this seeing that he is elsewhere freely admitted to be a supernatural figure,<sup>97</sup> the tradition might be expected to reflect his own and the Caillech's location in the legendary *corpus*.

Corco Loígde is represented in our material by Illand m. Scandláin of *Scéla Cano* who is to be identified with Illand m. Scandláin Móir m. Cindfaelad, king of Osraige (d. 656 *Ann. Inisf.*). His father (d. 641 *Ann. Inisf.*) was the last of the seven Corco Loígde kings of Osraige, and he himself resides at Dún mBaíthe which, of course, is also associated with the Caillech.<sup>98</sup> It seems significant to me, in view of her proposed Corco Loígde origins, that the traditional mid-seventh century *floruit* suggested by the Caillech's association with Cummine Fota and Mac Dá Cherda,<sup>99</sup> should roughly coincide with the expulsion of the Corco Loígde from Osraige: the Caillech's final aging comes about when she can no longer renew herself in the kingship of her people.

Illand appears as a tragic figure in *Scéla Cano* where his death is foretold and lamented by Cano. While he is not mentioned in the Caillech's poem or in the later introduction to it he turns up somewhat incongruously in the dialogue between Fintan and the Hawk of Achill, the composition of which Eleanor Knott would place in the fourteenth century:<sup>100</sup>

Trí chét bliadhan gan temeal  
óigi m'áisse fa dheriuth  
re linn mo dalta gan táir  
Illainn sgiamhaigh mheic Sgannláin<sup>101</sup>

Nowhere else in the poem is this Illand called "mac Scannláin," and it is clear that there is some confusion between Illand mac Scandláin and Illand son of the king of Sorcha who is elsewhere said to rejuvenate Fintan.<sup>102</sup> What is of interest here is the reason for this confusion which I would suggest is a thematic and traditional one. In general themes the poem is reminiscent of the lament and traditions of the Caillech reflecting as it does on the ravages of

<sup>97</sup> Rawl. 155 b 26 etc. = CGH, p. 264; cf. LL 25010: "Na tri Fothaid . . . Oendé 7 Cloendé 7 Trendé a n-anmand."

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Binchy, *SCano*, p. xxiv.

<sup>99</sup> Comgán is associated with her in *Aisl. MC*, p. 7. Unlike Carney I do not think that *Caillech Berre* is here simply "the name or nickname of a student at Armagh." (*Éigse* xiii, 1970, 237), but the Caillech herself; and with reference to his argument it should be noted that Cathal mac Finguine is also found elsewhere in a seventh-century context: Cf. Mac Cana *op. cit.*, p. 83 n.2.

<sup>100</sup> Knott and Murphy *Early Irish Literature*, p. 34.

<sup>101</sup> *Anecd.* I p. 29 For a general discussion of the tradition see E. Hull, *Folklore* 43 (1932), pp. 376-409; she wrongly calls Illand the son of Fintan (p. 396), and seems to have been unaware of the episode referred to in n. 102.

<sup>102</sup> Mc Kenna, *DDána*, p. 202 ff. where the story is told as an *uirsgéal*. The youth who rejuvenates Fintan with a kiss is here called "Éamhac aidríogh na Sorcha . . . Iollann Iolchrothach" (p. 204), who is of course, also prominent in prose romance.

time, the processes of aging and renewal, the great antiquity of its subjects, the alternation of joy and suffering, and the loss or threatened loss of sight. Indeed Fintan is elsewhere described as the Caillech's son,<sup>103</sup> and it seems likely that the confusion of the two Illand's in the dialogue was caused by the prior association of the Caillech with the family of Illand mac Scandlain. As Illand son of the king of Sorchu rejuvenated Fintan, so Illand mac Scandlái might renew the Caillech; this time, however, the aging was to be permanent.

But finally this suggestion must remain a tentative one: the tradition is surrounded by a mythological aura which is difficult to penetrate. This is in contrast to the other areas of the cycle where, whatever the original mythological nature of the characters, particularly the female ones, a clear and relatively stable outline emerges. But the Caillech was never fully euhemerized, and consequently she appears in widely differing contexts. It is clear, however, that a significant body of tradition localized her in a seventh-century West-Munster context, and I have attempted to show that in one of her manifestations she was probably regarded as the personification of the Corco Loíge kingship of Osraige.

The association of *Liadain* and *Cuirithir* with the cycle will be found less controversial. Cumíne Fota and Mac Dá Cherda figure prominently in the text, providing a more convincing link than the Caillech's relatively marginal connection with the pair. That the author was also acquainted with the finer points of the cycle is shown by a detail in the text: When Cuirithir flees Liadain for his soul's sake we are told, "Luid síum didiu co mbói hi Cill Letrech i tír na nDéisse inna ailithri."<sup>104</sup> While Cell Letrach is not identified by Hogan it seems inevitable that it was sited near or at "Dun Letrach for Siuir" which we have already met as the residence of Máel-ochtraig, father of Mac Dá Cherda.<sup>105</sup>

From such secondary characters we move to the Eóganachta of mid-Munster. We have already mentioned some Eóganachta-Déissi links of which Mac Dá Cherda himself is the most important. To him and Cumíne Fota is ascribed the *Dindsenchas* of Mag

<sup>103</sup> ZCP xix (1933), 176; cf. *Aisl. MC* p. 210.

<sup>104</sup> *Liad. and Cuir.*, p. 22.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. n. 85 above. The residence of Máel-ochtraig is given as Lios Ruadhrach in the *Omtheachta* identified by Hogan (*Onom.* s.v. *liss ruadhrach*) with Lisronagh, Co. Tipp. (cf. Power, *The Place-names of Decies*, p. 278). While Lisronagh could only be very generally said to be on the Suir it is possible that Dún Letrach and Lios Ruadhrach are earlier and later names for the same place. This explanation becomes very plausible if, as Power suggests, the name Lios Ruadhrach derives from Ruaidrí m. Cormaic m. Domnaill (CGH, p. 394), whose father Cormac died in 828 (*Ann. Inisf.*), and who is himself placed in the main Déissi line seven generations after Cobthach m. Áeda, father of Máel-ochtraig according to one pedigree. (It may be also the Less Ruadhrach of *Bruchst.* No. 139.) In any case Dún Letrach is not otherwise identifiable, although *ettir* gen. *lettrach* is a very common element in placenames.

Femin at the end of which they pay tribute to Fíngin and Mór Muman, although mention of the latter pair may be a later addition—but prior to the composition of LL in any event—as it occurs after the initial *dúnad*. The supernumerary stanzas also seem to have been added at different times:

Cummíne:	Na dermat in ríg las 'taí ocus ná dermat a mnaí
Mac Dá Cherda:	Rasisset in nem iarsain Mór ocus Fíngen Femen F.
C.	Is ferr d'andrib Inse Fáil Mór, ingen Áeda Bennáin.
M. Dá Ch.:	Ferr Fíngen inná cach fer immarédi dar Femen F.
	. . . . .
	Ní fuaramar mag is fer amail Fíngen seo Femen F. <sup>106</sup>

In the *Imtheachta* also Mac Dá Cherda and Cummíne Fota frequently visit the residence of Fíngin and Mór which surprisingly is said to be not at Cashel but at a place called Dúnadh Aird E(a)chlais in D.IV.1 and Dúnadh Aird Eachrais in B.IV.1. It is clear from internal evidence that this place is not at Cashel as there are references to journeys between the two places.<sup>107</sup> I would suggest that it is to be identified with Dún nEchla(i)s described in the Dál Cais inspired tract on the divisions of Ireland, which probably dates from c. 1000, as located at Emly: “co Dún nEchlas sair oc Imblich Ibair.”<sup>108</sup> Emly, of course, had important ecclesiastical ties with the Eóganachta, and we again find Mór associated with it in the quatrain attributed to her on the death of Cathal mac Finguine,<sup>109</sup> although here, as in *Mór Muman ocus Aided Cuanach meic Ailchine*, Cathal mac Finguine (d. 742 AU, *Ann. Inisf.*) has been confused with his great-grandfather Cathal mac Áeda Flaind Cathrach (d. 625 AT = AU, 628 *Ann. Inisf.*)<sup>110</sup> More interesting is Mac Dá Cherda's association with Emly, if my identification of Dúnadh Aird Eachlais/Eachrais is correct. In the account of the so-called West-Munster Synod we find a Comgán, described as “comarbae Ailbi” and “airchindech” of Emly, who may be the same person as Comgán

<sup>106</sup> *Met. Dinds.* III, pp. 202–4.

<sup>107</sup> e.g. D.IV.1, 31 Rb 35; B.IV.1. 177 R.

<sup>108</sup> Rawl. 149 b 16 = CGH p. 206.

<sup>109</sup> *Ann. Inisf.* s.a. 742; cf. *Bruchst.* No. 145.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Mac Cana *op. cit.* p. 82. Confusion of this kind is common: we have already noted it in the case of Diarmait m. Cerbaill and Diarmait m. Áeda Sláine. Likewise Máel-dúin n. Áeda m. Conaic, correctly named in his obit in Al 786, is confused with his great-granduncle Máel-dúin m. Áeda Bennáin in AU 786 and FM 781.



Mac Dá Cherda.<sup>111</sup> Although this is not confirmed elsewhere in tradition, the evidence for Cumáine Fota's similar connection with Clonfert is not greatly more substantial.<sup>112</sup>

However in *Mór Muman ocus Aided Cuanach meic Ailchine* the residence of Fíngin m. Áeda, whose marriage to Mór the text describes, is said to be at Cashel. This is the most important single text in the whole body of legend under discussion. The title by which I refer to it was provided by O'Nolan, who edited it from LL and B. *Fermoy*, and provides a fair description of its contents. It is untitled in the MSS. The editors of LL took the concluding "Aided Cuanach meic Ailchíni in sin" as their cue, and entitled it *Aided Cuanach meic Ailchíni*. Mac Cana employs the abbreviation *M.M.* [*Mór Muman*] to refer to it, and apparently regards the whole as a single text, although his own treatment of it would indicate otherwise, as he finds no further use for it beyond line five of paragraph three. I suggest that paragraphs one and two correspond to the lost tale *Neman Fír Moire Muman*<sup>113</sup> [i.e. *The true frenzy of M.M.*] and that most of the remainder (from line 6 of paragraph 3 onwards), with the exception of Mór's unseemly lament for Fíngin mac Áeda which may have concluded the *Neman* or formed a separate tale, corresponds to the tale of the elopement of Suithchern, sister of Mór Muman with Cuanu mac Cailchine.<sup>114</sup> The passage which recounts the death of Fíngin mac Áeda and Mór's marriage to Cathal mac Finguine (*recte* Cathal mac Áeda Flaínd Cathrach), and the rotation of the kingship between Eóganachta Caisil, Eóganachta Glendamnach, and Eóganachta Áine, is probably an interpolated antiquarian note. The question of the relationship of this passage to what precedes it would seem to be of importance to Mac Cana's interpretation of the story, as the mythological aura which surrounds Mór in the *Neman* section could not be carried over to an antiquarian note. What is in question is not the rotation of the kingship of Munster, nor even Mór's function as loathly lady,<sup>115</sup> but the close association of these two elements by assuming that we have here a single coherent tale. Mac Cana himself has noted that neither is Mór Muman represented as marrying into Eóganachta Áine in this text, nor did Eóganachta Áine actually provide the successor to Cathal m. Áeda

<sup>111</sup> ZCP viii (1912), 315; cf. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, pp. 217, 242.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 59.

<sup>113</sup> List B : *Anecd.* II, 523, par. 14.

<sup>114</sup> List B (*ibid.* p. 45, par. 6): *Aithi Ruithceirne la Cuana mac Cailcin*;

List A (LL 24972): *Aithed Ruthcherni re Cuanu mac Cailchin*.

Cf. O'Rahilly, *Dánta Gr.*, No. 71, p. 97:

[Do ghluais . . .] Soicheadn dá sléachtadh gach tír  
le Cuanna mór mac Aileín

<sup>115</sup> Although the argument is hardly strengthened by the translation of the phrase *tá Mór ina sui* (i.e. "Mór is risen") as "Mór is on her throne" (Alwyn and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage*, p. 136).



in the kingship of Munster. The tone of the note suggests that it was added by way of explanation after the rotation of the kingship had eased and was in danger of being forgotten. The last Eóganachta Áine king of Munster was Cathasach m. Etersceóil, who reigned in the mid-eighth century, although he does not appear in the annals which reflect the general uncertainty which followed the death of Cathal mac Finguine. The last Eóganachta Glendamnach king of Munster was Artrí m. Cathail m. Finguine who must have been a very old man when he died in 821 (AU, *Ann Inisf.*), and who had already been superseded by Fedelmid mac Crimthainn in the previous year. This note, then, can hardly be earlier than the late ninth century. It should be observed also that only in this part of the text is the Cathal whom Mór marries on the death of Fingín m. Áeda called "mac Finguine"; it may be that the confusion of the two Cathals here is due to the mistaken deduction of a later editor, and that it need not be presumed for the remainder of the text. In any case it is clear that there was a later editor, and that the text as we have it is a composite one. But for the most part it reflects very early and possibly contemporary tradition.

The text contains a series of fairly obvious political metaphors. Firstly there is Mór herself as the figure of sovereignty, discussed by Mac Cana. In this regard we might further stress a remarkable verbal parallel, noted by Gerard Murphy,<sup>116</sup> between this text and the lament of the Caillech Bérrí who may also be regarded as a sovereignty figure. Mór begins her wanderings by leaping over the rampart of her father's fort in West Munster: "coro ling dar dúa ind liss." The Caillech Bérrí similarly reflects in her old age:

cid becc mo léim dar duae,  
ní ba nuae in brat beus.

Murphy translates the first line as "though my leap beyond the wall had been small" but the distinction is not with regard to the size of the leap, but between leaping and not leaping, and should be translated "even if I had not leaped over the wall/rampart." Apart from this verbal correspondence there is a remarkable emphasis on clothing imagery in both this text and the Caillech's poem. Mór wanders about Ireland in rags; on going to bed with Fíngin mac Áeda she discards them; her new position as queen is confirmed by placing a purple cloak about her. The Caillech describes the reverse process in such stanzas as:

<sup>116</sup> *Early Irish Lyrics*, p. 79, n. 1. Quotations from the Caillech's lament are taken from this edition; quotations from *Mór Muman ocus Aided Cuanach meic Ailchine* are as in LL 35737 ff.

Is mé Caillech Bérri, Buí;  
no meilinn léini mbithnuí;  
indiu táthum dom séimi,  
ná melainn cid aithléini.

And as if to testify its persistence and significance this clothing imagery is also prominent in a number of poems attributed to Gormflaith.<sup>117</sup> (I would also say here that the distinction between historicity and non-historicity of Gormflaith is not as important as Carney would make it; nor is it as clear as he would seem to assume.)<sup>118</sup>

As a sovereignty figure Mór is preferred to the daughter of the king of the Déissi (Máel-ochtraig?) on the grounds that Eóganachta Locha Léin are superior to the Déissi: "Anfaidsi or is ferr a cenel or Fingen." While the Déissi would seem from this to be inferior to Eóganachta Locha Léin, they are regarded as superior to Éle Tuaiscirt, as Lonán mac Fíndig who represents the latter<sup>119</sup> is required to rise before the visiting king of the Déissi.

Fechtas and tanic rí na nDése. For láim Chatail no bíd Lonán. Érigsiu a Lonán riasin ríg.

The final cataclysmic battle reflects what Ó Buachalla regarded as the two principal themes of early Munster history: the conflict between Eóganachta and Érainn and "the strife between the rival east and west divisions of the Eóganachta which went on from the mid-fifth century right up to the early ninth century".<sup>120</sup> In this battle the forces of the eastern branch, represented by Eóganachta Glendamnach under the leadership of the sons of Cathal m. Áeda, and the forces of Eóganachta Locha Léin under the sons of Áed Bennán serve as the focal points. There is no confrontation between the principals: the message is that a battle between the two branches of the Eóganachta would be indecisive, but that either branch can easily dispose of any number of non-Eóganachta peoples. So the sons of Áed Bennán sweep the Érainn opposition eastwards before them across the breadth of Munster, while the sons of Cathal mac Áeda similarly rout their opponents westwards.

The reality seems to have been more prosaic. This part of the saga was probably built around the battle of Cenn Con or Cathair Chinn Chon (AU 640, 643; *Ann. Inisf.*, 645 *etc.*) fought between Óengus

<sup>117</sup> E.g. Bergin, *Bardic Poetry*, pp. 207, 213.

<sup>118</sup> See Carney's remarks in his introduction to Knott and Murphy, *Early Irish Literature*, p. 16; Cf. Ó Cúiv, PBA XLIX (1963), pp. 247 ff.

<sup>119</sup> The Lonán mac [F]índig of LL 35827 (*v.l.* 'Binnig' B. *Fermoy*) is to be identified with Lonán m. Binnig (*v.l.* 'Indig' LL) m. Féice of Éle Tuaiscirt (CGH pp. 248-9), cf. RC xlviii, 219 s.n. *Suitearn*.

<sup>120</sup> JCHAS LIX (1954), 118; cf. *ibid.* LVII (1952), 72-81. For the East-West Eóganachta rivalry see further Binchy, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*, p. 42.

Liath, brother of Cathal m. Áeda Flaind Cathrach (*L. Muimhneach*, p. 144) and Máel-dúin m. Áeda Bennáin. While the other annals credit Óengus Liath with the victory, *Ann. Inisf.* seem to regard it as a draw: "Fé ille, fé innund." *Ann. Inisf.* records the death of Cuanu in the following year (646), the same year in which the death of Óengus Liath is entered, so that the association of the two events in tradition was a very natural one. (The fact that Mór Muman's death is entered in AU 632 *etc.* is hardly relevant since, even if the entry is reliable, and Mac Cana has seriously questioned it, the fact that the *Neman* and *Aithed* sections are quite distinct makes it seem likely that mention of Mór at the beginning of the latter section is a feeble attempt at unity.)

While on one level the text reflects the power politics of seventh century Munster, on another it brings together a wide range of legendary characters. We conclude with an examination of how each of these in turn relates to the cycle, beginning with Suithchern, sister of Mór. I have shown that the sections which deal with the two sisters are really separate tales, but they have a common thematic shape. Mór and Suithchern are both daughters of Áed Bennán and therefore of royal birth; both arrive in lowly circumstances in Mid-Munster, Mór as a lunatic, Suithchern as a captive; the name and origin of each is at first unknown; both herd sheep; both contract royal marriages; both are left to lament a spouse. The passage in the *Neman*/Mór section where Fíngin's cast-off wife prepares a bed for Fíngin and Mór is functionally similar to the passage in the *Aithed*/Suithchern section where Lonán, husband of Suithchern is compelled to rise before a man whose friendship is preferred to his. Both episodes imply rejection, and to complete the parallel the Déissi are involved in both. This suggests to me that Suithchern should be regarded with Mór as a sovereignty figure, and as Mór does the round of the central Eóganachta Suithchern moves on the periphery between Uí Liatháin, Éle Tuaiscirt and Fir Maige Féne.

Apart from this tale Éle Tuaiscirt cannot be related to the cycle. Lonán mac Fíndig is known elsewhere to me only in the Life of Finán of Cenn Etig where the saint gives him the rather doubtful assurance that he will not be defeated by his enemies until the day of his death.<sup>121</sup> We have seen that Cuanu mac Cailchíne of Fir Maige Féne was regarded as Guaire's uterine brother, and he will be discussed more fully below. The relationship of Uí Liatháin to the cycle is something of a problem. In the battle of Carn Conaill, Talamnach king of Uí Liatháin is named as one of the three Munster kings who fell in the battle, presumably in support of Guaire. The other two Cúán mac Conaill of Uí Fídgenti and Cúán mac Amalgada of

<sup>121</sup> Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 155; Cf. Plummer, VSH II, p. 89 and n. 15.



Eóganachta Áine (to be discussed below) are related by marriage to Mór Muman, whose daughter in turn was held to be the wife of Guaire. The problem is that no Talamnach appears in their genealogies, and it may be that the name of Talamnach m. Laidcind m. Báetáin of Corco Baiscind<sup>122</sup> who was slain in the battle of Loch Fén fought "eter Mumain ocus Chonnachtu" (*Ann. Inisf.* 665) has been substituted. I would further suggest that he has replaced Rónán (m.) Dícolla m. Fergusa Tuile of Uí Liatháin to whom all the evidence points as the original Uí Liatháin representative in the saga of battle. At first sight that evidence would seem slight. He is not mentioned in the LL composite tale being discussed, where Suithchern arrives at "Dún Chaireda i crích hua Liathán." This episode is also described in the D.IV.1 version of the *Imtheachta*, where it occurs independently of the *Neman*/Mór story supporting my contention that it is to be regarded as a separate tale. Here the episode is introduced by the words:

Scela imorra Suitceirne ingine Aedha Beannain ⁊ Ronain Dicollai meic Fergusa Tuile .i. ri ua Liatháin indistiur sunnai coleice.<sup>123</sup>

Suithchern is already married to Rónán when the episode begins. She is described as the most beautiful of women, and her husband can find no fault with her except that he does not know her family or patrimony. From there the story, in as far as it is legible, follows the outlines of the LL tale, and Mac Dá Cherda is sent for to determine her origins. There is one important addition in the D.IV.1 version: Rónán departs for the dwelling of Cuanu mac Cailchíne at Liathmuine, and although the text becomes illegible at this point we may assume that the *Aithed* in its original form described Suithchern's marriage to Rónán (which was probably terminated by his death at Carn Conaill), proceeded with her marriage to Lonán mac Fíndig and concluded with her elopement with Cuanu mac Cailchíne ending in the latter's death. Rónán is also mentioned elsewhere in the *Imtheachta* as holding a convention with Máel-ochtraig, father of Mac Dá Cherda; in D.IV.1 he is entitled king of Uí Liatháin and in B.IV.1 king of Uí Meic Caille and Uí Liatháin.<sup>124</sup> It is clear then that Rónán belongs to this set of characters and fulfils what seems to be a basic requirement of the Munster kings involved in the saga of the battle of Carn Conaill in being related by marriage to Mór Muman. The fact that there is no Talamnach who was king of Uí Liatháin, and that this does not seem to be even an Uí Liatháin name,

<sup>122</sup> LL 324 g 39, 336 g 30 = CGH pp. 380, 428.

<sup>123</sup> D.IV.1, 35 Rb 10.

<sup>124</sup> B.IV.1, 151 V; D.IV.1, 29 Vb 1.



when added to the fact that Rónán fits in terms of time and associations, leads me to believe that he figured in an earlier form of the Carn Conaill saga. At least it explains why an Uí Liatháin king was regarded as an appropriate participant in the battle. Indeed a passage which immediately precedes mention of Rónán in the *Uí Maine* prose *Bansenchas* not only introduces another participant in the battle, Cúan m. Conaill of Uí Fídgenti, but quotes a quatrain, probably from one of the several lost tales which belonged to this cycle, which is strongly reminiscent of two parallel episodes in *Mór Muman ocus Aided Cuanach meic Ailchine*. The passage is

Guais [*sic*] ingen Mael Duin m. Aeda Beandain ingen bratar do Moir Muman, bean Cuain m. Conaill m. Grilline . . . ri hUa Figinnte. Is fria do raid:

Adraei suas,  
deirig do Cuan is do Guas;  
nocor deirgead do laec luind  
bad amra na mac Conaill<sup>125</sup>

As well as the question of rising before a superior there is here the matter of preparing a bed ('dérud') for Cúan and Guas. This recalls the passage in the LL compound tale where the daughter of the king of the Deissi prepares a bed for Fígin and Mór ("Sisi ro deraig dóib .i. ind rígan") and where Lonán mac Fíndig is compelled to rise before the king of the Déissi. While details such as the custom of rising before a superior are in themselves of no significance, they become significant as part of a complex pattern such as that being discussed; what finally matters is not the fact itself but its position in the system. It follows that given part of the system we may presume to reconstruct the whole by making use of the comparative evidence. It is clear that a similar set of traditions attached to Mór, Suithchern, and Guas, and we have seen that this relationship is expressed genealogically as well as thematically. It is this type of consistency which allows us to correct variations in the system as I have done above in suggesting that Rónán be substituted for Talamnach.

Suithchern does not appear elsewhere as loathly lady, but significantly Rónán does encounter such a person, here named "Moel Coirn", in a passage which precedes the *Imtheachta* in D.IV.1. This passage has been published in an entirely different context,<sup>126</sup>

<sup>125</sup> RC xlviii, 223, with emendation 'mac Conaill' for 'meic Conaill' in final line of quatrain. The pedigree given for Cúan here substantially agrees with the official one in Rawl. 152 a 28 = CGH p. 232. For related *Bansenchas* entries see RC, *ibid.* p. 185, and LL 17159-64. Note the grouping of characters in all versions of the *Bansenchas* which shows the same sense of association evident in the tales.

<sup>126</sup> A. T. Lucas, "Washing and Bathing in Ancient Ireland", JRSAL 95 (1965), p. 105, from D.IV.1, 27 Ra 20 ff.

and describes the hag-queen transformation in a way that immediately recalls Mór's encounter with Fingin m. Áeda Duib. The parallel is made complete by the fact that Rónán's previous wife challenges him to sleep with the hag. (This curious insistence of the previous wife and the apparent importance of identifying the hag by name or origin, are two aspects of the thematic complex which deserve further investigation.) Although in this instance there is an apparent lapse of time between the moment of transformation and sexual union, the fact that the transformation is achieved in preparation for the union provides the necessary unity; indeed this is one of the best and most explicit examples of the theme.

There is one further instance of Rónán's connection with Mór Muman worth mentioning. This comes from the *Uí Maine* prose *Bansenchas* and although it contains the confusion of Cathal m. Áeda Flaind Cathrach with his great-grandson Cathal m. Finguine it is still significant:

Mor bean Cathail meic Findguine, ⁊ Goirmgel ingen Finain Rathain máthair Cathail meic Findguine. Cailleach ingen Dunchada Arda meic Ronain Dícolla máthair [*leg. meic*] Fergusa Tuile . . . ben eile Cathail meic Findguine.<sup>127</sup>

This means that Suithchern's (probable) grand-daughter Caillech (called *Ceallach* in her obit in AU 732) was married to Mór's husband, or, if we eliminate the confusion of generations, to Mór's (probable) great-grandson. This is another example of how legendary relationships tend to persist through several generations in a regular genealogical manner, and to be expressed by way of similar themes, until the entire structure which supports the cycle collapses. This collapse does not seem to have taken place in Munster until the mid-eighth century, and coincides with the death of Cathal mac Finguine. This type of legend-making process does not seem to have proceeded beyond his reign; although Fedelmí mac Crimthainn gave rise to another set of legends in the following century they are essentially of a different kind. I am not claiming that the legends were composed prior to 742, the date of Cathal mac Finguine's death, but simply that the time frame to which they refer belongs to the seventh and early eighth centuries.

It seems likely that Rónán Dícolla m. Fergusa Tuile should be read as Rónán m. Dícolla m. Fergusa Tuile. The *Uí Maine* prose *Bansenchas*, the *Imtheachta* and the account of Rónán's encounter with "Moel Coirn" have the first version, as does his pedigree in BB 177 a 19. This may also be the case with the entry in *Ann. Inisf.*

<sup>127</sup> *Uí Maine*, 96 Vb 51; misconstrued by Dobbs in RC xlviii, 223; cf. *ibid.* p. 185; LL 17165-8.

634 which reads "Mors Ronain m. Fergussa," but it seems more probable that, as Mac Airt suggests, two entries have been run together here, and that the entry, as in AU, refers to the death of Rónán's father Dícuill. The AU entry (at 632) reads "Bellum Atha Aublo in quo cecidit Dichuill mac Fergus Tuile la Mumain." The variant Rónán m. Dícolla m. Fergus Tuile is also the usual version in the genealogies.<sup>128</sup>

From Rónán we turn to Cuanu mac Cailchíne, also known as Láech Liathmuine, of Fir Maige Féne. It is tempting to think of the AU entry on the death of Dícuill m. Fergus Tuile, quoted above, as the account of a battle fought between an Uí Liatháin expeditionary force led by Dícuill, and Fir Maige Féne under Cuanu. Áth Abla (Ballyhooly) is also associated with Cuanu in the Life of Mochuta where he is called 'dux huius regionis.'<sup>129</sup> Certainly a great amount of material concerning Cuanu has been lost. As well as being involved in the *Aithed* he seems also to have been the subject of the lost tale given in List B as *Linne Laich Liathmuine*. It appears here in the same section as *Neman Fir Moire Muman*, and a tale entitled *Imscothadh Cuimine* which very likely refers to Cummine Fota and perhaps contained an earlier version of *Imtheachta na nÓinmhítheadh*—at least the term *Imscothadh* is of similar meaning to *Imtheachta*.<sup>130</sup>

Mrs. O Daly has assembled much of the tradition relating to Cuanu in her foreword to the text of *Mesce Chúanach*.<sup>131</sup> But perhaps the most inclusive statement of his genealogical position and place in tradition is that which occurs in *Betha Molaga*. This shows him to have been of Clann Dímma of Uí Chúscraid of Fir Maige Féne, and states his relationship to SS. Molaga and Mochuille who belonged to different branches of Uí Chúscraid. (The pedigrees of the saints as given here agree with those provided for them in GRSH.)<sup>132</sup> The text reads:

<sup>128</sup> Rawl. 151 a 48 = CGH, p. 224. For general variation of this type see ZCP viii, 178–9; PRIA 39 C 3 (1931), 46–7.

<sup>129</sup> VSH I, 185; Power, *Lives of SS. Declan and Mochuda*, pp. 108–110. Here Mochuta heals the paralyzed right hand of Flandnait daughter of Cuanu. The episode immediately follows Mochuta's meeting with Cathal m. Áeda, Mór Muman's second husband.

Incidentally the "Dūngal mac Maelfothbil .i. rí Fer Maigi", said to be a friend of Mochuta in *BColm.*, p. 24, is a problem, as he does not seem to occur in the annals or genealogies or indeed anywhere else.

<sup>130</sup> For this section of List B see *Anecd.* II, 53. None of these tales is listed in the later List A.

For another example of 'scothad' in the sense of travelling see *Fél.* p. 40 at Jan. 2.

<sup>131</sup> *Ériu* xix (1962), 75–80. To her genealogical references to Uí Chúscraid add *Uí Maine* 72 Va 51. (I know of no tradition which refers to Guaire as a leper as suggested in p. 79 par. 5.) Power, *Crichad an Chaoilli*, pp. 27–28, 85, also refers to Cuanu. See especially p. 85 for possible site of Liathmuine.

<sup>132</sup> GRSH p. 112.



Ar robhattar tri fine aireghda do Uibh Cuscraid an tan sin .i. clann Luchta  
 7 clann Dedhadh 7 clann Dímma 7 as óna finib sin roghenair triar onórach  
 in-nimh 7 i ttalmain .i. Cuana mac Cailchin meic Dimma . . . rogenair immorro  
 a cloinn Dímma . . . ; Mochuilli mac Diuchaill meic Comain . . . rogenair o  
 cloinn Degha. O cloinn Luchta immorro rogenair Molaga .i. Molaga mac  
 Duibh Dlighidh meic Duibh Deochain.<sup>133</sup>

We have already considered Cuanu's association with Rónán m. Dícolla, and noted that he appears in the D.IV.1 version of the *Imtheachta* as a huntsman at the court of Fíngin and Mór. He is of course also one of the principal figures in the *Aithed* or rather what remains of it in the LL composite tale. The *Uí Maine* prose *Bansenchas* which may be drawing from a fuller version of the *Aithed* separates the full and correct pedigrees of Cuanu and Lonán m. Findig with the sentence:

Is i [i.e. Suithchern] rug Cuano m. Cailcin go Liathmuine ar egin arna guin,  
 codorcair iarsin la Lonan<sup>134</sup>

We have seen that the tract on the mothers of the saints makes Cuanu a uterine brother to Guaire, and as usual this connection is supported by traditional association. Their rivalry in generosity is the theme of *Mesce Chúanach*, and Keating could write:

Fa fear comhaimsire do Ghuaire mac Colmáin an Cuanna-so, agus bhi  
 coimhmheas oinigh is daonnachta eatorra; gonadh uime sin do rinne an dá  
 óinmhid .i. Comhdhán is Conall an rann leathach iomarbhádh eatorra  
 araon . . . <sup>135</sup>

(Comdhán and Conall are, of course, Comgán Mac Dá Cherda and Conall Clocach). In the poem on the saints of Fergus' seed we find Guaire and Cuanu again associated with one another

Guaire na naomh dhiobh gach duine  
 gach fear dhíobh os Láoch Líathmhuine<sup>136</sup>

As the theme of Guaire's own generosity is reduced to the absurd in *Tromdám Guaire*, so this context in liberality between Cuanu and Guaire is ridiculed in a savage little in-tale in *Betha Molaga*. Instead of the tribe of poets who make outrageous demands on Guaire's hospitality, it is Guaire's own *druid* who, presumably at Guaire's instigation, present Cuanu with the impossible choice of being himself satirized or allowing Carn Cuillinn to be plundered:

<sup>133</sup> *Ir. Texts* III, 12-13.

<sup>134</sup> RC xlviii, 219.

<sup>135</sup> *Keat.* III, 130; cited by Mrs O Daly, *loc. cit.*

<sup>136</sup> *Ir. Texts* I, 64.



Is hi immorro cathair as mó dóbí ar sccath Molaga isin aimsir sin .i. Carn Cuillenn gurab an tan sin tangattar tri druidh Guaire mic Colmain righ Connacht cona celiaraibh do chuingidh neich for Cuana mac Caillein .i. Laoch Liathmuine, co nar gabsat ní úadh acht an baile d'argain doibh no a glámhadh. Deonaighidh tra Cúana crodh an bhaile dona druidhibh sin .i. do macuib Lir .i. Fiach et Erriach et Eniach. Móa immorro doronsat-somh ina amail dodeonaigedh doibh ar romúrsat uile an baile et roloiscseas et romarbhsat a dhacine ach aenbhen roélo uaithibh ⁊ lámh a leinimh triana taobh iarna guin. Slánaighis Molaga an mnaoi sin ⁊ cuiridh lámh an leinib anunn et geallaidh gomadh hí an lámh sin nomuirfedh Cuana iarttain, et is edh ón recomhalladh<sup>137</sup>

It is not easy to reconcile the statement that the unborn child of the lone woman who escaped fulfilled Molaga's prophecy and killed Cuanu with the *Aithed* tradition that Lonán mac Findig was his slayer. Perhaps one of the lost tales describes the woman's flight to Éle Tuaiscirt where Lonán was born, although this would not quite explain his Éle pedigree. The passage seems to be related to the visit of the "triar aesa cerdda" who prophesies his death to Cuanu in the *Aithed* section of the LL composite tale as in each case the prophecy of Cuanu's death inevitably fulfilled is preceded by the visit of three savants. Like the Life of Mochuta, that of Molaga refers to characters in this cycle of tales so consistently that we cannot regard it simply as an example of the tiresome and random convention which requires that one's favourite saint come into contact with every worthwhile individual of the period or near it. As well as Guaire and Cuanu, Cummine Fota, Mac Dá Cherda, Cathal mac Áeda Flaind Cathrach, Fursa (son of Geilgéis daughter of Guaire by one tradition),<sup>138</sup> and Cúan mac Amalgada also appear.

Memories of Cuanu himself survived in Connacht down to the sixteenth century at least as shown by the entry on the death of Mac Diarmada ALC 1568 where he is called "Guaire duassach degoinigh tslechte Muireghaigh Mhuillethain; Laoch Liathmuine Leithe Cuinn ar fhéile ar fhírinne ar oineach." Mrs. O Daly who quotes this entry comments "That a Connacht annalist should mention Cuanu in the same breath as Guaire shows that his fame for generosity was not merely a local one." This is not very strange when we consider that this cycle of tales originally operated on a Munster-Connacht axis, and it is a testimonial to the endurance of the Munster-Connacht continuum that similar late references to Mór Muman also occur in the Connacht area. So in *Ann. Conn.* 1421.15 we read: "Mor Muman dedinach na Mumnech quieuit, ingen Briain h. Briain ⁊ ben Uater a Burc, ⁊ bennacht cach cristaide le dia

<sup>137</sup> *Ir. Texts* III, 18-19.

<sup>138</sup> AT p. 193; *Ann. Rosc.* par. 124. Cf. O'Rahilly, *Pol. Poems*, p. 81, l. 473, and note p. 160.

hadnacal." Again in the same Annals at 1527.20 we find reference to another Mór "ingen Maoilsechlainn Meic Cába uxor h. Aínligi, an ben dob fherr da tanic a Cenél Doftha riamh . . . aithghin Moire Muman ar clú 7 ar crabadh et ar deighbesibh . . ." Especially interesting is the fact that Mór Muman was the name of the wife of Cathal Croibhdhearg Ó Conchobhair,<sup>139</sup> as it seems likely that the upstarts O'Connors were anxious to establish a connection with the Guaire cycle and with Guaire himself, as suggested by the flattering use of the term Uí Chríde to refer to them, although such reference to a female ancestor is most unusual.

Cúan m. Amalgada m. Énnai is the third of the Munster kings who died at Carn Conaill according to the saga of the battle. His obits provide some of the clearest evidence that all the annalistic accounts with the exception of AU and *Ann. Inisf.* derive from the saga. *Ann. Inisf.* records the battle at 649 and Cúan's death at 641 (it is interesting also to note that *Ann. Inisf.* does not mention Cúan m. Conaill while it records the death of Crundmáel m. Áeda m. Óengusa Lappae as king of Uí Fídgenti in the same year as the battle i.e. 649). The evidence of AT is clearer still as it contains both the saga account of the battle in which Cúan m. Amalgada is said to be slain as well as a separate entry on his death.<sup>140</sup> The LL regnal list shows the same confusion: "Cūān m. Amalgaid .x. (ēc. a ēc nō a marbad i carn Carn Conaill.)"<sup>141</sup> It seems clear that the more elaborate entries on the battle were superimposed on the annals in the usual antiquarian fashion, no attempt being made to eliminate contradictory information. It seems reasonable to assume, considering the strong local interest and the annals involved, that the addition was made at Clonmacnoise.

<sup>139</sup> *Ann. Conn.* 1265.7; *Misc. Ir. Ann.* 1217n.

Her death is entered in ALC 1218.

This Mór's daughter, Lasairfhíona, was married to Domhnall Mór Ó Domhnaill, and their daughter in turn was named Gormfhlaith. In his elegy on the latter (*Ir. Texts* II, 76) Giolla Brighde Mhac Con Midhe refers to her as:

úa do Mhóir a mínluchair  
ua Móiri Mumhan . . .

The description "a mínluchair" refers to the fact that this Mór was daughter of Domhnall Ó Briain.

Even if we were to take the attitude that 'Mumhan' here refers only to Mór's place of origin, and that all later references to Mór Muman in the Connacht annals are to this person, it is extremely unlikely that all this could have been done without an awareness of the earlier tradition. I prefer to think of the comparison as a direct one.

<sup>140</sup> AT pp. 185, 189-90.

<sup>141</sup> CGH, p. 360. Wrongly identified by O'Brien in the index as Cúan m. Amalgada m. Ailella (cf. *L. Muimhneach* p. 402 taking readings E and N). CS s.a. 646, FM s.a. 645 and LU 9606 call him Cúan m. Énnai but this is an insignificant variation.

The Amalgaid who also appears in the LL list (CGH, p. 360) would seem to be Cúan's father, although O'Brien does not attempt to identify him either as Amalgaid m. Ailella m. Nath- Fraích (father of Cúan king of Munster by his own identification) or as Amalgaid m. Énnai m. Crimthaid (father of Cúan by my identification).

The full pedigree of Cúan m. Amalgada m. Énnai is given in Rawl 154 d 8 etc. = CGH. 253.

While the saga of Carn Conaill links Cúán m. Amalgada to Guaire, the *Bansenchas* connects him to Mór Muman in that his daughter Órnat is there said to be married to Sechnasach son of Fíngin and Mór whose birth is mentioned in the LL composite tale ("Buisi i fail Fíngin co rruc mac do .i. Sechnasach mac Fíngin" LL 35763). We have already referred to the tradition whereby Deoch daughter of Fíngin and Mór was held to be married in turn to Laidcnén and Guaire, and her romance with the former is the subject of yet another lost tale mentioned in Lists A and B.<sup>142</sup> Within the context of the cycle confusion of Deoch and Órnat was inevitable, and appears as early as *Sanas Cormaic* where Órnat laments the dead Laidcnén in the presence of her second husband as Mór lamented Fíngin m. Áeda Duib in the presence of Cathal m. Áeda Flaind Cathrach and was similarly reproached.<sup>143</sup> Mac Cana has discussed the variant traditions in some detail. The LL *Bansenchas* is ambiguous, at one point seeming to identify Órnat with Deoch while fifty lines later Órnat (presuming her to be the same person) reappears among a group of eighth-century characters as wife of Sechnasach mac Fíngin.<sup>145</sup> The violent displacement in the latter instance is probably an attempt to conceal the contradiction which Gilla Mo Dutu saw to exist just as Keating, as I hope to show elsewhere, gives two separate accounts of the battle of Carn Conaill which he must have known to be irreconcilable but yet felt obliged to record out of a sense of duty to tradition. The final result of this method is what we find in the *Uí Maine* prose *Bansenchas* where all possible variations are entertained:<sup>146</sup> (a) Órnat was daughter of Cúán m. Amalgada and wife of Guaire or of Sechnasach m. Fíngin, (b) she was a different person, the daughter of Fíngin and wife of Guaire, (c) there were two Órnats who lived at the same time. I prefer to think of the original traditional situation as one in which Órnat daughter of Cúán and wife of Sechnasach m. Fíngin is clearly distinguished from Deoch daughter of Fíngin and Mór wife of Laidcnén and Guaire. From the point of view of the cycle it does not greatly matter as the

<sup>142</sup> List A: *Aithed Díge re Laidcnén*, LL 24973; List B: *Aithi Dighi la Ladhgnen Anecd.* II, p. 45. Mac Cana has also noted (*op. cit.* pp. 357–8) that it is referred to in *Oidheadh Chloinne Lír*. Similarly in the unpublished poem "Seisear 'sa n-aghaidh soir" 23. D. IV (R.I.A.) p. 139, among the six said to be buried at Kilmacduagh we find Deogh ingnean Aodha fuair é agus Lorcán a céidshearc.

Lorcán is probably a late substitution for the unfamiliar Laidcnén, and Aodh probably derives from Deoch's grandfather Áed Dub m. Crimthaid. The term "a céidshearc" implies knowledge of the tradition that Deoch later married Guaire. The other four said here to be buried at Kilmacduagh are "Cána" (i.e. Cano m. Gartnáin), "C Chuinneall" (i.e. Cú Coingelt of *Caithreim Cellai*g), and Geilgéis and Créd, daughter of Guaire.

<sup>143</sup> Mac Cana, *op. cit.* p. 363.

<sup>144</sup> *ibid.* pp. 357 ff.

<sup>145</sup> LL 17143–6 : 17193–6; cf. variation in Lec. 211 Ra 35–7; Lec. 211 Va 39–42.

<sup>146</sup> RC xlviii, 222.

legendary framework not only contributed to the confusion but also serves to explain it. The variation is within fixed limits and along clearly marked lines of exchange, and the question of origin is very much secondary to the question of pattern.

This concludes the survey of the Munster characters. There are some problems with regard to points of detail, and places where we must substitute speculation for fact, but the general outline seems clear. The materials which supply the evidence seem to have been hewn from a single traditional block. It would be foolish to pretend that there are no discrepancies or anachronisms; the remarkable thing is, that considering the range and diversity of the sources, there are so few of them, and that the margin of variation is so small. This essential unity, though not necessarily all the details, must derive from a very early period: I have already suggested a *terminus ad quem* at c. 900 A.D. This complex and intricate set of relationships has hitherto been largely ignored in favour of the artificial and non-traditional *Tromdám Guaire*. I hope that this and following articles will do something to restore perspective to a substantial area of Irish tradition.

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## THE RISE OF THE LATER SCHOOLS OF *FILIDHEACHT*\*

In one minor but nonetheless significant matter the earlier compilations of annals draw a fairly consistent distinction between the monastic scholar and the *fili* during the pre-Norman period: with the exception of Mael Mura of Othain (+887), who is described as 'chief-poet of Ireland' (*ríg-fhili Éirenn*) in AU, the monastic scholar is not given the title *fili* or *éices*. On the other hand, he is occasionally expressly associated with *filidecht*. In the case of Mael Ísu Ua Brolchán (+1086 AU), for instance, the use of the latter term seems to approach its secondary and narrower meaning of 'poetry'. This may also be true of Eochaid ua Flannacán (+1004 AU, *suí filidechta 7 senchusa*), though, since his obit couples *filidecht* with *senchas*, it may simply be intended to suggest that Eochaid was expert in branches of learning formerly considered proper to the *filid*. Even in the annals, therefore, there is some little indication that the concept of *filidecht*, that is to say the professional learning and craft of the *fili*, was assuming a less monolithic aspect in the eyes of contemporary scholars; but, in general, the terminology of the annals reflects the separate characters, or emphases, of monastic and *fili* learning. Most of the monastic scholars whose obits are recorded were concerned primarily with *senchas* 'historical tradition', a subject which in its older frame of reference was basic to the *fili*'s professional activities, but which for the monastic scholar came to refer in particular to that peculiar combination of Irish and world history which originated and developed within the monasteries and which reached its apotheosis in *Lebor Gabála*. On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt, and some evidence to confirm, that the *filid* continued to apply themselves to most of the genres traditionally associated with their calling: 'historical' prose narrative, elegies and praise poems, *dindshenchas*, genealogy, as well as the linguistic and metrical aspects of their craft.<sup>1</sup>

This disparity between the two learned traditions assumes considerable importance when one comes to consider the rise of the later system of tightly-organized classical verse, which first came into view towards the end of the twelfth century and thereafter continued virtually unchanged until its dissolution in the general catastrophe of the seventeenth century; and particularly when one comes to consider the theory of its origins proposed by Robin Flower in his well-known

\*The present article is excerpted from an extended study of Irish learned institutions which was completed some fifteen years ago, but which, owing to other commitments, I have not yet been able to present for publication.

<sup>1</sup> I present the detailed evidence for this statement in the longer work referred to.

essay entitled—somewhat misleadingly—‘The Rise of the Bardic Order’.

The striking feature of this later period of strict *dán direch* is the appearance of a number of literary families who dominated the profession of *filidheacht* and the related branches of *seanchas* ‘history’ and law throughout Ireland and who by precept and example maintained from one generation to another a stringent code of literary and linguistic practice. The significance of their rise and the considerable reorganization of learning which it implies were not lost upon earlier traditional scholars. In the seventeenth century in the introduction to his Book of Genealogies the historian Dubhaltach Mac Fírbhisigh wrote a brief account of the learned classes who preserved Irish historical tradition.<sup>2</sup> He first discusses the early *filid* and then, in a separate category comprising ‘the kings and saints and the church of Ireland’, he gives a list of exemplary names concluding with those of three poet-scholars—Flann Mainistrech, Eochaid Ó Flainn and Gilla na Naem Ua Duinn—whose active careers cover a period extending from the late tenth century to the middle of the twelfth and whose scholarly affiliations were primarily monastic. These *filid* and scholars, he continues, ‘preserved historical learning (*seanchas*) until the latter times about five or six hundred years ago’ (in other words till c. 1050–1150), when the first of the learned families came into being: ‘About that time began most of the Gaelic surnames that are in Ireland now, and families took over or were appointed to be in charge of history and other arts at that time, some of them a while before that, others a while after, so that they are in the lands of Ireland under their respective chiefs, to write their historical traditions, and records and annals,<sup>3</sup> and for making artistic poems on those historical traditions, and also to preserve and expound every poem extant in Irish whose meaning is not clear.’

The question is: how did these learned families attain their commanding positions and where is one to seek the more immediate origins of the organization which they controlled? Mac Fírbhisigh does not propose an answer, but Robin Flower does and his answer is impressive in its simplicity: ‘These literary families were the guardians of the tradition as it was arranged and stored in the older manuscripts by the scribes of the great clerical schools’ and were thus the successors of the monastic scribes and scholars of earlier centuries. But for a variety of reasons the work of recording earlier tradition had by the eleventh and twelfth centuries become concentrated in the monastic scriptoria of central Ireland, such as those of Clonmacnois and Terryglas, and it was precisely from this central area that

<sup>2</sup> T. Ó Raithbheartaigh, ed., *Genealogical Tracts* I, 6 ff.

<sup>3</sup> There is a slight verbal discrepancy here between the manuscript and the printed text, which is based upon O’Curry’s transcript.

the old literary tradition was propagated from the late twelfth century onwards by a class of hereditary literary families.<sup>4</sup> 'And' Flower continues, 'when we come to trace the genealogies of these families we find that the most important of them all derive from the same district. The O'Mulconrys, the O'Clerys, and the O'Duignans were the chief transmitters of the historical and genealogical tradition. The O'Mulconrys<sup>5</sup> and the O'Duignans<sup>6</sup> were of the families of Westmeath whose chief monastery was Clonmacnois, while the O'Clerys came from the district of Hy Many,<sup>7</sup> on the other bank of the Shannon, which also acknowledged Clonmacnois as its patron house. The law scribes of medieval Ireland were the Mac Egans, also of the Hy Many, whose chief seat was in northern Tipperary on the shores of Loch Derg. The O'Dalys, the chief poetic clan, were again of the peoples of Westmeath.<sup>8</sup> These families, cradled in central

<sup>4</sup> R. Flower, *The Irish Tradition* 84 f.

<sup>5</sup> On the family of Ó Maelconaire see Fr Paul Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, 34 ff. The earliest attested scholars of the name are Néidhe Ua Maelconaire, *an seanchaidh* (+1136 FM), and Tanaide Ua Maelconaire, given in LL and Lec. as the author of a poem in LG (Walsh, *op. cit.*, 35).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Walsh, *op. cit.*, 1 ff. He notes that the earliest mention of the surname occurs at 1296 (FM) with the obit of Maolpedair Ó Duibhgennáin, archdeacon of Bréifne, while a little later, in 1323, it is recorded that Giollapádraig Ó Duibhgennáin, chief historian of Connhaicne, and his son Lúcas were slain by one of the Maguires.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Walsh, *The O Cléirigh Family of Tír Conaill* (Dublin, 1932), especially 1 f.:

'It is a historical fact that dynasts of the name Ua Cléirigh ruled the district of Uí Fiachrach Aidhne—roughly, the territory of Cill Mac Duach, about Gort, in the south-west of county Galway. Cléireach, from whom the surname came, must have lived before the year 850. Ua Cléirigh, the surname, is first found at the notice of the death in 916 of one of Cléireach's descendants. From that year until 1033 the surname is in continuous association with the same territory. The items are vouched for by the annalists.

'About 150 years later William fitz Adelm de Burgh, ancestor of all the Burkes of Ireland, is said to have dispossessed the O Cléirigh family. They migrated to Tirawley, a region in the north-east of county Mayo, west of the Moy and Ballina. On their settlement there a complete silence falls until the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

'At that period a certain Cormac O Cléirigh, ancestor of the O Cléirigh family of Tír Conaill, settled in that country, having come from Tirawley. He was associated for a time with the monks of the Cistercian abbey of Assaroe. When he came to Tír Conaill, Niall Garbh O Domhnaill, king of the name, was ruling. Niall Garbh was king between the years 1342 and 1348. Hence if the record is right, Cormac was settled at Kilbarron in county Donegal, the hereditary seat of the chief of the O Cléirigh family, before 1348. He is said to have been proficient in the Civil and Canon Law, but the statement means hardly anything.

'Cormac, we learn, married a daughter of O Sgingín, ollav of O Domhnaill. The ollavs were masters of various kinds of learning, but particularly of chronicling and poetry. The family of O Sgingín followed chronicling as a profession. The story goes that O Sgingín had no child save one daughter, for his one son had died, and the date of his death is given, 1382. O Sgingín wished to transmit his profession to his descendants. He therefore arranged the marriage of his daughter to Cormac, with the proviso that their male children should be brought up as chroniclers.'

Also John O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachr.*, 71-91, 391-98.

<sup>8</sup> They were descended from Cúchonnacht *na sgoile* of Lecan, near Bun Brosna in Tethbha, who died in 1139 and who is described by the annalist (FM) as *ard-ollam* in poetry. Already in the course of the twelfth century they began the dispersal which led to the establishment of separate branches who attached themselves as official poets to local rulers in Meath, Clare, Sligo, Roscommon, Breifne and Cork. Cf. S. H. O'Grady *Brit. Mus. Cat.* I, 343 n. 6; J. O'Donovan, *The Tribes of Ireland* (Dublin, 1852), 3 ff. Anne O'Sullivan, *Eigse* xiv, 26 ff. (on the Ó Dálaighs of Muintir Bháire in south-west Cork).



Ireland, gradually scattered throughout the country in the Middle Ages, carrying their traditions with them.' It is not until about 1200 that they make their appearance in the annals, but Flower assumes that the origins of the institution which they represent must lie further back in time, that they are in fact to be sought in the enlightened reign of Brian Bóramha, who, like Charlemagne and Alfred, is commonly pictured as a patron of learning and of the arts: 'It is perhaps safest to conclude that the institution was of gradual growth, but that it finally consolidated and established a tendency which had begun to manifest itself in his day and under his influence.'

Had Flower so wished, he might have expanded his tally of learned midland families who dispersed to other parts of the country. He might for example have mentioned the family of Mac an Bhaire, hereditary poets to O Kelly of Uí Maine, who also produced distinguished offshoots in Oriel and in Donegal, where they became poets to the O'Donnells;<sup>9</sup> or the Mac Connidhes, whose place of origin seems to have been somewhere in Tethbha, but who dispersed at an early date, one branch of them becoming poets to Ó Néill of Tyrone.<sup>10</sup> He might also have adverted to some of the scattered historical evidence which lends support to his hypothesis. One recalls for instance that some families, such as the Ó Dálaighs, were prolific of churchmen as well as of poets and men skilled in native learning.<sup>11</sup> As a general phenomenon this need have no special significance except in so far as it demonstrates that clerical and secular learning in this period tended to issue from the same local and social matrices), but particular aspects of it, and individual instances, are rather more suggestive. Take the illustrious family of Ó Duibhgeannáin, who followed the profession of historians. There were two sub-divisions of them, of which one was settled at Castlefore in Leitrim (since c. 1400), where they seem to have maintained a school of secular learning, while the other, to which belonged the well-known seventeenth-century scribe, Dáibhí Ó Duibhgeannáin, was associated with the church of Cill Rónáin in Roscommon, which had been built by Fearghal Muimhneach Ó Duibhgeannáin in 1339.<sup>12</sup> These latter became *airchinnigh* of Cill Rónáin as well as historians to Clann Mhaolruanaidh,<sup>13</sup> and perhaps it is not unreasonable to see in this dual role a clue to the peculiar circumstances which led to the emergence of the learned families referred to by Flower.

<sup>9</sup> Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning* 151 ff.; O'Grady, *B.M. Cat.* I, 342 n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> O'Grady, *B.M. Cat.* I, 342 n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> For example, the first occurrence in the Annals of the learned name of Mac an Bhaire, at the year 1173, is the obit of a Maelísa who was bishop of Clonfert.

<sup>12</sup> Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, 2. The original home of the family was in the territory of Annaly (*Anghaile*) in Longford.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. O'Donovan, *FM* III, 564 n.



The whole question of the aftermath of the twelfth-century reformation of monastic organization is still beset by difficulties of interpretation or sheer lack of evidence, but nowhere is this so true as in the sphere of secular learning. For example, with the atrophy of the old monastic system are we to assume that such prominent foundations as Terryglas (Tír dá Glas) and Inisclatra lapsed into virtual oblivion, leaving behind them no trace of the civilizing impulse of the midland monasteries with which they had been so closely, and so recently, associated?<sup>14</sup> We know that some of the old foundations passed into the hands of the Augustinian canons during the twelfth century, some (like the two just mentioned) later became mere parish churches, though still in many cases retaining their hereditary coarbs (*comarbai*).<sup>15</sup> But what exactly were the cultural functions where such existed, of these later *comarbai* and of the *airchinnigh*? These offices, or titles, which were held in the main by laymen and handed on by hereditary succession, seem to have consisted primarily in the possession of the old monastic lands, subject to the payment of a yearly cess to the responsible bishop.<sup>16</sup> Such cultural influence as they may have exerted no doubt varied according to local circumstance, and in particular may have been conditioned by the character and intellectual range of the foundations to which they succeeded. In more general terms, we have the testimony of Sir John Davies writing in 1609, that the son would normally succeed his father as *comharba* on condition that he 'were qualified with learning,' whatever that may mean precisely. As to the *airchinnigh*, one recalls that Bishop George Montgomery saw them near the beginning of the seventeenth century and shortly before their final disappearance in the break-up of Irish society: they were, he says,<sup>17</sup> an educated body of men, using Latin and determining controversies by judicial decisions.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Dermot J. Gleeson, *JRSAI* 79 (1949), 167; J. Barry, *IER*, 1957 July-Dec., 24-5.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Aubrey Gwynn and Dermot J. Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe* 308-9, 323-5.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. St. John D. Seymour, 'The Coarb in the Medieval Irish Church', *PRIA* XLI, (1932-4), 219 ff. (for instance, p. 225: 'It has already been said that the existence of lands formed the connecting link between the Celtic and the Anglo-Norman periods') *Anal. Hib.* 12, 99; also Ua Duinnín, *Me Guidhir Fhearmanach*, 131-2; Butler, *Gleanings from Irish History*, 265. One may observe in passing that this placed the *airchinnigh* in a somewhat similar social position to the *aos dána*; cf. Kenney, *Sources*, 20: 'One of the features of the Irish social system was the hereditary transmission in particular families of dignities, offices, professions and trades. This resulted mainly from the fact that in each *tuath* special lands were set apart for the benefit of such positions of callings. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century almost all the prominent *savants* and *litterati* were members of these families.' I have some discussion of these poets' estates in the unpublished work referred to earlier.

<sup>17</sup> The document does not bear the bishop's signature, but apparently there is little doubt that it originated in his entourage.

<sup>18</sup> Cited by Dr Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, *Gleanings from Ulster History* 111. His source is an account entitled 'The Ancient Estate of the Bishopricks of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher' in *Papers relating to the Church of Ireland, 1631-39*, with Preface by Evelyn Philip Shirley, M.A., F.S.A. Published for the National Protestant Union. London: R. J. Bush; Dublin, Hodges, Foster & Co., 1874.

True, this is not in itself sufficient to transform *airchinnigh* into *filid*, but nonetheless it shows that the intellectual and pedagogic ethos of the monasteries did survive in some form or other among the later *airchinnigh* and that in some circumstances it may have merged in that of the secular schools. It expressly associates the *airchinnigh* with the resolution of legal disputes and thereby, by implication, with the profession of *brithem*; and we have an historical instance of this combination in the family of Ó Breisleán, *brithemain* to Maguire and *airchinnigh* of Derryvullan (Doire Mhaoláin) on the Erne.<sup>19</sup> Mention has already been made of the Ua Duibhgennáins of Cill Rónáin, who were *airchinnigh* and historians. To these one may add such families as the Ua Cianáins, *airchinnigh* of Claoininis in Loch Erne and historians and poets in Fermanagh and Airghialla,<sup>20</sup> the Ua Fialáins, *airchinnigh* of Bohoe (Both Uí Fhialáin) near Enniskillen and poets in Fermanagh,<sup>21</sup> the Ua Caisides, *airchinnigh* of Devenish in Fermanagh and physicians and men of literature,<sup>22</sup> the Ua Luiníns, *airchinnigh* of Arda in Fermanagh as well as historians, poets and leeches,<sup>23</sup> or the Ó hIarfhlaithes, *airchinnigh* of the church and termon of St Gobnait in Baile Mhúirne and in more recent times men of learning and literature.<sup>24</sup>

One of the main obligations of the later *airchinnech* and *comharba* was to dispense hospitality: 'The erenachs were bound to exercise hospitality, and it would appear that in those coarbships whose value consisted of land, and where the coarb was principal erenach (as at Drumlane [the coarbship of St Maidoc, in Co. Cavan]), the duties of hospitality fell on him. Thus O'Roddy of Fenagh is described in the *Book of Fenagh* as "a man who observes the privileges and prohibitions of the place in which he is, to wit, that he should keep a

<sup>19</sup> See Index to AU sub Ua Breisléin; also T. F. O'Rahilly, *Procs. R.I.A.* 36 C (1931-4), 116 f.; Ua Duinnín, *Me Guidhir Fhearmanach*, 105-6, 27.

<sup>20</sup> See Index to AU sub Ua Cianáin. The Ó Corcráins, of whom Brian Ó Corcráin, a poet of the Maguires c. 1600, was one, were also associated with Claoininis as *airchinnigh*. One Brian Ó Corcráin (+1487) is named in the annals as vicar of Claoininis; see also O'Rahilly, *Procs. R.I.A.* 36 C (1921-4), 95; Ua Duinnín, *Me Guidhir Fhearmanach*, 115; *B.M. Cat.* II, 353.

<sup>21</sup> See Index to AU sub Ua Fialáin; also Ua Duinnín, *Me Guidhir Fhearmanach*, 108. Cf. AU 1483, 'Ua Fialán, namely Seaán Ua Fialán, died this year; he was *ollamh* in poetry (*re dán*) to the sons of Pilib Meg Uidhir and *airchinneach* of Both.'

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Rev. P. Ó Gallachair, *Clogher Record*, 1956, 137-159. Probably the best known representative of the family is the twelfth-century author of the *Banshenchas*, Gilla Mo-dutu Ua Casaide.

<sup>23</sup> See Index to AU sub Ua Luinín; also Ua Duinnín, *op. cit.*, 109, 17, 27; *B.M. Cat.* II, 371; O'Rahilly, *Procs. R.I.A.* 36 C (1921-4) 95 f.

Also in the Maguire country were the Ua Sléibhénés. Fr Ua Duinnín notes that 'Munter Sleivne' were *airchinnigh* of 'Magheri Kilterny' that is Cill Tighearnach (Kiltierney) the barony of Lurg, in 1609 (Inquis.) and that already in the eleventh and twelfth centuries they were prominent as poets (*Me Guidhir Fhearmanach*, 104); cf. Muireadhach Ua Sléibhéne, chief poet of the north of Ireland, FM 1022, Giolla Comhghaill, ditto, 1031, and Domhnall, chief poet of Oirghialla, 1168.

<sup>24</sup> William F. T. Butler, *Gleanings from Irish History* 121, 281; D. Ó hÉaluighthe, *Irish Hist. and Arch. Soc. Journ.* lvii (1952), 43-61.

house of general hospitality"; and the Four Masters in 1519 speak of a coarb of Cluain-Connhaicne as "head of the hospitality of the churches of Connaught." In 1446 Maurice O'Mulmohery, clerk, complained to the Pope that the hospitality which he ought to keep up by reason of certain ecclesiastical lands which he held had become impossible on account of the slenderness of the rents of the said lands. Apparently he was bound to this as being coarb and principal erenach.<sup>25</sup> But this obligation was not confined to the *airchinnech* and *comharba* as such: there is much evidence, particularly in the annals, that some at least of the ollamhs in poetry and secular learning discharged the same responsibility during the post-Norman period, e.g. AU 1376, Ruarcán Ua hAdhmaill, ollamh of Ua hAnluain, keeper of a general guest-house, refusing entry to no one; 1448, Tadhg Óg Ua hUiginn, 'principal (*oide*) of the schools of Ireland and Scotland in poetry and learning and keeper of a general guest-house for the *cliara* and wanderers of Ireland'; 1478, Tadhg Ua Breisléin, 'ollamh to Maguire in law and keeper of a general guest-house'; 1485, Gilla Pádraig Ua hUiginn, 'professor of poetry and keeper of a general guest-house for rich and for poor'; 1518, Cithruadh son of Aitheirne Ua hEoghusa, 'an eminent poet and excellent teacher and keeper of a guest-house'; ALC 1542, Brian Dorcha Mac Conmidhe, 'expert in poetry and learning and a rich, opulent man, who kept a general house of hospitality for all'; Maelsechlainn son of Tuathal Ó Domhnalláin, 'the ollamh of the greater part of Connacht in poetry and a man who always kept a guest-house'; FM 1514, 'Ó Dálaigh of Corco Mruadh, Tadhg son of Donnchadh son of Tadhg son of Cearbhall, professor of poetry and keeper of a house of general hospitality.' The same role is assigned to the well known poet Eochaidh Ó hEoghusa in his obituary s.a. 1612.<sup>26</sup>

Eleanor Knott in her edition of the poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn adverts briefly to this association of poets with the provision of hospitality and adds the comment that 'undoubtedly these houses of hospitality were used as meeting-places for men of letters, where news and literary opinions were put into circulation.'<sup>27</sup>

It seems a fair assumption that the common responsibility of *airchinnech* and *ollamh* in this regard is more than mere coincidence (unless one supposes that their similar obligations can be adequately explained by their tenure of lands which they both held by virtue of their office): it was, naturally, one of the primary responsibilities of

<sup>25</sup> St. John D. Seymour, op. cit., 229. Cf. also S. Pender, *IER*, March 1933, pp. 258, 264, P. Barry, *IER*, Jan.-June 1959, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> In 'Short Annals of Fir Manach', ed. Pól Breathnach, *Irish Book Lover* xxiii, 8: O hEóghusa darbh ainm Eochaidh ardollamh oirdheirc a ndán & a bfoghluim & a ngéirinn-tlucht na healadhna Gaoidheilge & biatach maith & fear tighe aoidheadh go comhchoitichionn & duine mórainmneach ag Gaoidhealaibh & ag Gallaibh dég an naomhadh lá do mhí Iúne.

<sup>27</sup> Op. cit. xli.



the early Irish monasteries, as indeed of monasteries elsewhere, to dispense hospitality,<sup>28</sup> but I can recall no substantial evidence that this was also numbered among the obligations of the *filid* in the early period.<sup>29</sup> It is probable, therefore, that this obligatory service was one which devolved upon certain learned families together with the temporal possessions which they inherited from older monasteries which had fallen away in the general decay of native monasticism.

The connection between poet and *airchinnech* is taken for granted in late legal commentary on the ollamh's privileges. It is here laid down that the inferior grades of poet were to perform certain services for the ollamh: the *cano* to feed his two dogs and the *dos* his servants, the *drisech* to foster his children, and the *airchinnech* to maintain his horses (*se heich aici . . . 7 dleagar do aircindeachaib eclaisi a fulangside* O'C. 239 = H. 3. 18 p. 133). Precisely how this is to be interpreted in detail—or indeed how much credence is to be given to it—is open to serious question, but one thing it makes clear: that the church *airchinnech* was in some sense or another felt to be an integral part of the system of poetic learning. It implies that he was a student and practitioner of *filidecht* though—as one might expect—he did not himself normally enjoy the status of ollamh.

In the light of this varied evidence, one need have no great difficulty in accepting the broad outline of Flower's argument and in assuming that some of the families whom he mentions took their origins from one or other of the monastic centres of learning situated in the midland area, in other words that they developed out of the laicized and largely hereditary personnel of the pre-reform monastic schools. Though, if the argument presented here is valid, namely that a goodly proportion of the post-Norman families of learned poets were descended from those hereditary officials who maintained possession of the old monastic termans after the monasteries themselves had been superseded,<sup>30</sup> then there seems to be no good reason

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Rev. John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism*, 318 ff.

<sup>29</sup> There is, it is true, a poem attributed to the poetess Laitheóc, mother of the poet Flann mac Lonáin (+891, 918 FM), in which she exhorts her son to be generous, pointing out that the ollam is obliged to give bounty and hospitality as well as to receive them (ZCP viii, 109 f.):

*An t-ollamh cuinghes gach ní | ar feraibh an betha bí,  
dligidh an t-ollamh gan ches | a brondadh amhail chuinghes.  
Sásad urlamh, fáille ier sin, | proinn aige da gach aoidhidh,  
crudh d'iarraidh, biadh do brondudh | dligidh riamh gach ro-ollamh.*

However, while it is difficult to date this kind of verse with any precision, there can hardly be any doubt that this example was composed sometime during the post-twelfth century period.

<sup>30</sup> It is clear that Fr Cuthbert McGrath had already arrived at much the same conclusion at the time the above was written. Thus he himself wrote as follows in *Clogher Record*, 1957, p. 9: 'It may appear that undue stress has been laid on details relating to the location of this family [Í Eódhosa]. The matter is, however, an important one. Implicit in it is the question of their origin; and this in turn is linked up with the origin of the other learned families. For many of the later learned men seem throughout the whole of Ireland—in so far as we have information about their early history—to have



to suppose that this phenomenon was confined to the midlands. (In point of fact, it seems to have been especially marked in certain areas: for example, there is a remarkable concentration of instances attested from the Fermanagh or Lough Erne area). Perhaps the best example of the development postulated by Flower is that of Cúchonnacht Ua Dálaigh, known as Cúchonnacht *na sgoile*, 'C. of the school', who died at Cluain Iraird in 1139, whose obit in FM describes him as *ardollamh lé dán*, 'chief professor of poetry', and who is acknowledged as the progenitor of the various poetic families of Ó Dálaigh throughout Ireland. The school which gave him his epithet was presumably the monastic school of Cluain Iraird, a point of considerable interest if his title means, as it might appear to do, that Cúchonnacht's teaching curriculum comprised something of the poetic learning of the *filid*; and especially if the genealogy of his family be correct in representing his grandson Aenghus, and the latter's seven sons, as the ancestors of all the Ó Dálaighs.<sup>31</sup> It is perhaps significant that his epithet occurs later in the context of secular learning; compare for example Domhnall na Sgoile (c. 1300), one of the famous Mac Firbhisighs,<sup>32</sup> and Conchubhar Ó Dálaigh, otherwise Conchubhar na Sgoile, an adherent of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, in the latter half of the sixteenth century and evidently head of a school of poetry.<sup>33</sup>

The endemic disease of early monasticism was secularization. The reform movement of the eighth and ninth centuries, of which the effects cannot in any case have been universal, was offset by the inherent tendency towards secularization within the system and by the disruptive influence of the Norse invasions from without, and the ensuing instability and unease encouraged an increasing secularization which is reflected in the puritan 'prophecies' of the next two or three centuries. The result was that by the eleventh century many of the monasteries had become heavily laicized. Most of their officials were by then laymen, and no doubt this applied equally to the *fir léiginn* and scholars of the monastic schools.<sup>34</sup> A twelfth century (?) 'prophecy' foretells that 'Clonmacnois will be without proper clergy

been at first merely officials attached to some church or monastery, where they had the opportunity of acquiring the education necessary for their later profession of poets, chroniclers, etc.'

<sup>31</sup> Cf. O'Grady, *B.M. Cat.* I, 343 n. 6; J. O'Donovan, *The Tribes of Ireland* (Dublin, 1852), 3 ff.; *Anal. Hib.* 18, O'Clery Book of Genealogies, ed. Pender, 45, § 589. However, considering that a Ragnall Ó Dálaigh who died in 1161 (FM) is described as *ollamh Deasmhumhan* and may be the ancestor of the Ó Dálaighs of Muintir Bháire (cf. O'Donovan, op. cit., 10), it is hardly possible that these latter could be descended from the grandson of a man who died in 1139.

<sup>32</sup> Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning* (Dublin, 1947), 93.

<sup>33</sup> O'Rahilly, *Procs. R.I.A.* 36 C (1921-4), 112-3.

<sup>34</sup> We know that Flann Mainistrech, who was *fer léiginn* of Monasterboice, had one son, Echtigern (+1067), who became *airchinnech* of that monastery, and another, Feidlimid (+1104), whose obit in AU and FM describes him as 'a good soldier of Christ', to which FM adds that he was 'a chief senior and a learned historian' (*ard-shenóir 7 saoi senchasa*).

(*Biaidh Cluain gan clérca iar cóir*),<sup>35</sup> and this forearmed prognostication is probably not far wide of the mark.

This was the century which produced the great reform and reorganization of the Irish Church, and of course the Anglo-Norman invasion which followed closely in its wake. The consequent emergence of a completely episcopal organization and the introduction of the Continental orders brought about the rapid decline of many of the older monasteries. What happened to their schools is of course a question not susceptible of any facile explanation. In some cases they may have vanished completely, but, as we have seen, there is evidence that they frequently survived in some attenuated form, if only in the persons of the *airchinnigh* or *comharbai* who remained as proprietors of monastic lands, and that they may at times have been transformed into schools of *seanchas* or *filidheacht*. The latter outcome is confirmed, not only by the evidence already cited, but by the very term which is generally applied in the later period to the schools of learned poetry. The word *scol* (<L. *schola*) is used in early Irish of a school of learning in general and of a monastic school in particular, but there seems to be no evidence that it was used specifically of a school of *filidheacht* until the period of strict Dán Díreach,<sup>36</sup> in other words from the twelfth century onwards. This certainly indicates reorganization around this period and seems also to imply some measure of continuity from the monastic to the secular school: the epithet of Cúchonnacht *na sgoile* Ó Dálaigh of Cluain Iraird and the history of his learned progeny are a neat index of this evolution.

On the other hand it quite clearly does not mean that the later secular school is *per se* of monastic origin, and this is where Flower's rather impressionistic treatment may be misleading. He shows that the monastic scribes who produced the great twelfth-century compilations at Clonmacnois and Terryglass had as their legitimate successors the Mac Aodhagáins, Ó Maolconaires and others of the learned families sprung from this same central area,<sup>37</sup> but at the same time he clouds the issue by neglecting to observe certain useful distinctions. For instance, it is not permissible to assume tacitly, as Flower does, that continuity from monastic scribe to hereditary secular scribe of itself implies continuity from monastic scribe to the later *fili*; we are dealing

<sup>35</sup> *Ériu* xviii, 60. Eoin Mac Neill, discussing Fragment IV of the Annals of Tigernach, 'a transcript of a contemporary chronicle kept at Clonmacnois during the period . . . 975-1178', recalls that Clonmacnois was invaded by the Normans under De Lacy in the latter year and suggests that this may have brought about the cessation of the chronicle (*Ériu* vii, 108 n.).

<sup>36</sup> It is not necessary to suppose that *scol* replaced an earlier native word. Very probably there was no specific term in early Irish for the establishment comprising teacher and pupils; in some contexts this would have been covered by the term *dám* 'retinue, company of poets' etc.

<sup>37</sup> *The Irish Tradition* 79, 84-5.

here with two distinct functions which may converge under certain circumstances, but which are essentially quite separate.

In fairness to Flower, it should be remembered that his essays are concerned primarily with the monastic contribution to Irish literature, and thus when he speaks of 'the continuity of the tradition from the clerics to the hereditary scribes', he is thinking of the written tradition represented by the twelfth-century collections. Nevertheless, in equating the later *filid* with the hereditary scribes, he neglects to produce any evidence that these latter-day *filid* evinced any strong attachment to the scribal function; indeed what evidence there is suggests that while they were not averse to the use of writing,<sup>38</sup> they still continued to give priority to the oral mode. The fact is that Flower's study by its very nature tends to understate the role of the *fili* in the early period to the advantage of the monastic *litteratus*, so that it is all too easy for the reader to form an over-simplified picture of later developments and to assume with Flower that the great body of Irish tradition was gathered into the scriptoria of the midland monasteries and thence disseminated by the learned families who sprang from them like the phoenix from its ashes. It goes without saying that the reality must have been very different, and much more complicated; so complicated indeed that one can never hope to recover the manifold changes of the period except in their broadest outline. But there is one point of cardinal importance which should not be lost sight of, and that is that the *filid*, despite all the stresses and strains which they endured, especially in the wake of the Norse invasions, appear to have maintained their own professional usages relatively intact throughout and to have clung to their old conception of themselves as the continuators of the learned oral tradition of Ireland.<sup>39</sup> It is noteworthy, for example, that the poet-grammarians who provided a detailed description of the standard literary dialect of the Dán Dírech period betray in their work relatively little trace of Latin influence, in contrast to the compilers of the earlier *Auraicept na nÉces* with its baffling imbroglio of Latin grammatical theory and Irish linguistic forms. If the *Auraicept* is a fairly typical product of Latino-Gaelic learning, the Grammatical Tracts for their part suggest a reversion to (or indeed an extension of) an older tradition of 'poetics' that was largely independent of Latin models.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cf. for example the reference by Maolmhuire Mac Craith (14th. cent.) to his experience in the school of poetry: *ionann leabhar do léaghmaois* (*Dioghluim Dána*, ed. L. Mac Cionnaith, 104 § 7).

<sup>39</sup> A striking example is their maintenance of the archaic perquisite which entitled the *ollamh* to the *eirreadh nuachair*, the bride's wedding-clothes, or to its value; cf. *Celtica* viii, 174 ff.

<sup>40</sup> It is true that the form of the language described in the Grammatical Tracts appears to date from about the twelfth century, and that there is no comparable description of earlier stages of the language; but this difficulty is perhaps more apparent than real. It is clear that the *filid*, from the earliest times, received some form of professional



Moreover, in considering the significance of the distinguished learned families selected by Flower, it is well to keep in mind the much more numerous families of hereditary poets for whom there is not the slightest evidence to suggest that they originally migrated from the midland area.<sup>41</sup> From Leth Cuinn one may instance such families as the Ó Clúmháins of Mayo and Sligo, poets to O'Hara,<sup>42</sup> the Ó hEodhasas, originally of Cinél Tighernaigh (not identified) in Ulster, but who migrated into Fermanagh and became poets to Maguire,<sup>43</sup> and the three poet families of Trián Conghail, or Clann Aodha Buidhe, namely the Ó Gnímhs, the Ó hEachaidhéins and the Ó hUids.<sup>44</sup> In his poem to Cormac mac Airt Óig, Séamus Ó hUí makes the very impressive claim that his family had performed the functions of the *ollamhnacht* for eight hundred years in Trián Conghail, during which time they had been in uninterrupted possession of certain lands which they held by virtue of their professional services<sup>45</sup>; and while naturally it would be rash to suppose that the poet's arithmetic was free of error or exaggeration, there is no doubting his profound consciousness of the antiquity of his family's professional heritage.<sup>46</sup> As for the Ó hEachaidhéins, during the latter part of the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth century they were involved in a dispute with a branch of the Ó Dálaighs concerning the instruction in the use of language, however unsophisticated this may have been by other standards. Since such instruction would have been mainly oral, and designed to be exclusive, it is not surprising that we have little direct record of it.

According to Gerard Murphy, even the Grammatical Tracts circulated as oral doctrine for two or three centuries before being written down (*D. Finn* III, 190). Whereas, he argued, they represent the living doctrine of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the earliest manuscript dates from about A.D. 1500. 'During the 13th, 14th, and 15th, centuries, then, the living doctrine was oral doctrine, a unified oral doctrine as the substantial unity of the later manuscript versions of it show.'

<sup>41</sup> Mr Kenneth Nicholls has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that the Munster poetic family of Ó Cuill can be traced back to the tenth century: FM 958, *Finshnechta ua Cuill, file Mumhan, d'écc.* The obit of another member of the family is recorded s.a. 1048: *Cendfaeladh hua Cuill, ardfhili Mumhan* AU (also FM; A. Tig., *RC* xvii, 388). The corresponding entry in AI is: *Hua Cuill, priméces Herend, do éc fri commain 7 sacrafc.*

Another Munster family of poets, the Mac Craiths, is attested in the eleventh century: AI 1097.4, *Mc. M. Raith filed quicuit in Christo* = FM 1098, *Mac MeicRaith filedh, airdfile na Mumhan d'écc.* It is clear from this that both son and father were poets.

No doubt there were also poetic families who migrated before the decay of the native monasteries. Cf. for example J. V. Kelleher's comment on the family of the famous poet 'Mac Liag', Muirchertach mac Conchertaig, who died in 1016. The family was from Corann in Sligo, but evidently had already settled in Thomond by the time of Mac Liag's death (*Celtica* ix, 88).

<sup>42</sup> O'Grady, *B.M. Cat.* I, 343 n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Op. cit. I, 344 n. 3.

<sup>44</sup> See T. Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* xxv-xxx; Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, *Gleanings from Ulster History*, 93 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Ed. J. H. Lloyd, *Miscellany presented to Kuno Meyer*, 56; T. Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*, 127. The poem is in fact a plea for the restoration of this professional estate which had, it would seem, latterly fallen out of the family's possession. The poet also appeals to Cormac not to forsake him for another, and insists that they, the Ó hUids, were the true poets and chroniclers of his family and race.

<sup>46</sup> It is at least clear that the Ó hUids were *filidh* some two hundred years before Séamus voiced his claim, for AU in 1485 records the death of Brian Ua hUí, *fer dána* of Trián Conghail, at the hands of Seán Ó Néill mac Eoghain mhic Eoghain Uí Néill.



*ollamhnacht* to Ó Néill. At 1394 and 1408 FM notes the death of two members of the Ó hEachaidhéin family as a result of this strife. This would appear to be an instance of encroachment by expansionist 'midland' families, on the precincts of old, locally established lines of learned poets.

The truth would seem to be that the continuity of the tradition of *filidecht* was never completely ruptured, but that the organization itself experienced several centuries of unsettled, changing conditions, culminating in the cultural and social crisis of the twelfth century.<sup>47</sup> During this time monastic scholars, most of them laymen no doubt, became increasingly absorbed in the study of native historical tradition and, secondarily, of native literary sources in general. We have seen that the early sets of annals continue on the whole to preserve some distinction between these monastic scholars and the *filid*, at least until the end of the eleventh century. But it is a distinction which need not be exaggerated, and in the latter stages it may have rested as much on considerations of social or professional affiliation as on inequality of repertoire. As regards the latter, the great differentiating factor (purely religious poetry apart) was the monastic scholar's predilection for what Mac Neill dubbed 'synthetic' history. It accounts for the distinction made in the annals and constitutes the actual perceptible difference between the literary compositions of the two classes; this apart, it is difficult to discern any fundamental disparity between, on the one hand, the work of *filid* like Cinaed ua hArtacáin and Cúán ua Lothcháin and on the other that of Flann mac Maelmaedóc and Flann Mainistrech himself.

But for our immediate purposes the important point is this: until approximately the end of the eleventh century the monastic scholar was distinguished from his *filí* counterpart by his study and promotion of the 'synthetic' history which reached its fullest development in the twelfth-century compilation of *Lebor Gabála*, 'the Book of Conquest'; yet from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century *Lebor Gabála* received unquestioning acceptance from the schools of *filidheacht*—in Robin Flower's words, 'it became canonical'.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> The learned ascendancy was always keenly sensitive to any danger of professional competition from the lower orders of poets and entertainers, and this threat was no doubt accentuated by the relative social and political instability which obtained from the ninth century onwards. Perhaps there is a reflection of this upward thrust of some of the inferior poets in certain surnames of hereditary poetic families in the post-Norman period, e.g. Mac an Bhaird 'son of the bard', Mac an Chrosáin 'son of the *crosán*', Ua Ríoghbbhardáin 'grandson of the royal bard', Ó an Cháinte 'grandson of the *cáinte* or satirist', Ua hAdhmaill 'grandson of the *adhmall*, or bard of the fifth degree'. The monastic element also is suggested by names such as Mac (an) Fhirléighinn 'son of the "lector"', Ó Cléirigh 'son of the cleric'.

<sup>48</sup> The late Seán Mac Airt in the course of a well reasoned article criticized certain scholars for too readily assuming 'that the work of the scholarly monk and the lay poet became in time almost identical' (*Ériu* xviii, 150 f.). Where this assumption led to attributing to the *filid* 'an undue part in the production of Ireland's synthetic history'

The implication is clear: at the time of their reorganization in or about the twelfth century, the *filid* consciously took over the historical teaching elaborated by the monastic students of native tradition—or else, the total acceptance by the later *filid* of *Lebor Gabála* resulted from the gradual assimilation and, ultimately, the partial integration of the two classes. Indeed these alternatives are not mutually exclusive, for the establishment of the new poetic system of the *Dán Díreach* period presupposes not merely an evolutionary process but also an element of active planning. Probably the most striking feature of this later system is the standard literary dialect which it maintained substantially unchanged down to the seventeenth century. It is clear that this dialect must have been taught in the schools of *filidheacht* from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the consensus of opinion is that it was shaped from the spoken language of the twelfth century.<sup>49</sup> But how this was accomplished remains a complete mystery. Of one thing however we can be quite confident: the introduction and establishment of this standard literary language could not have come about without conscious organization. Its very formulation seems to imply a measure of concerted effort, and certainly it cannot have achieved permanence and universality except by the consent and cooperation of a nation-wide confraternity. One recalls that in the twelfth century the history of the Irish Church was marked by the great reforming synods, and it is surely not inconceivable nor improbable that something comparable took place in the field of secular learning.<sup>50</sup>

But hypothesis is not history, and the precise instruments of the twelfth century cultural realignment will probably never be known. The evidence suggests that much of the initial impetus came from the midland area where the *litterati* of the older monasteries were deprived of a congenial ecclesiastical environment and also of material patronage by the spread of the reform movement; but the rapid extension of the new system throughout Ireland can hardly be explained otherwise than by assuming that there were still schools of *filidheacht* to give effect to it and that the old organization of the *filid* survived in sufficient strength to assure communication and cooperation over such a vast area.

As to regarding Flann Mainistrech simply as a *fili* in monk's clothing, then his criticism is quite justified; but at the same time I fear that in disposing of a too facile identification he may have given too little weight to the evidence of a growing assimilation of native monastic learning to that of the *filid*, and that he has left unresolved the problem of explaining how those historical doctrines which distinguished monastic and secular learning in the eleventh century were to become canonical in the schools of *filidheacht* by the thirteenth.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Brian Ó Cuív, *Celtica* iii, 87 n. 3; G. Murphy, *Éigse* vi, 353.

<sup>50</sup> I am encouraged in this suggestion by the fact that it has in the meantime been put forward independently by my colleague David Greene in *A view of the Irish Language*, ed. Brian Ó Cuív (Dublin, 1969), 20.

The effect of the two great social innovations of the twelfth century was substantially to polarize native literary usage among the learned class. Between them the reformed Church and the Anglo-Normans threw Ireland open to foreign influence, but this was done independently of—one might say in spite of—those sections of society who had through the centuries maintained the continuity of native secular culture. Consequently there was relatively little attempt at compromise; this was not the time for the balanced interplay of foreign and native elements of artistic composition, such as had distinguished the early creative period that began in the seventh century. The intrusion of the new Anglo-Norman political power confirmed and accelerated the rapid subversion of the old monastic organization which had been such an essential element of Irish society over the preceding six centuries, and whose schools and scriptoria—and patronage—had played a dominant role in the shaping of the cultural norms obtaining at the beginning of the twelfth century. With the relegation of the older monasteries the whole basis upon which the prevailing system of cultural values and usages rested was suddenly cast into jeopardy, and the door thrown open to unfamiliar fashions. This is perhaps best illustrated from the visual arts. It has been shown that the Irish metalworking tradition came to an abrupt end in the second quarter of the twelfth century, as the monasteries upon whose patronage it depended entered upon their period of final decline. Henceforth, 'the demand was not for the work of the Irish bronzesmiths but for the mass-produced ecclesiastical metalwork that was now available from Continental factories.'<sup>51</sup> Nothing could illustrate more vividly the precariousness in cultural matters of twelfth-century Ireland.

But metalworking and literature are very different commodities, and it was inevitable that they should react unequally to the changing environment. With the former the position was relatively simple: patronage was almost exclusively ecclesiastical and naturally as the Church altered character so did the prevailing fashions in metalwork. The fortunes of monastic literature on the other hand are much less clear-cut. The striking feature here without any question is the immense volume of literary material produced during this century, but as an index of literary growth this is not entirely convincing. In fact one can hardly doubt that much of the vast output of late eleventh and twelfth-century scholars came as a reflex to an ominous change, like the fighter betraying his inner distress by the very fury and volume of his counter-attack. It is significant that this wave of literary activity is predominantly compilatory in character: the great manuscript *bibliothecae* of *Lebor na hUidre*, Rawlinson

<sup>51</sup> Máire and Liam de Paor, *Early Christian Ireland*, (London, 1958), 172.



B 502 (both written at Clonmacnois) and the Book of Leinster compiled by the abbot of Terryglas), the *Dindshenchas*, *Lebor Gabála*, *Acallam na Senórach*, *Lebor na Cert*, the *Liber Hymnorum*,<sup>52</sup> lives of saints, and so on; which suggests not so much a creative urge as a conscious effort to regroup and consolidate the resources of native learning. The foreign element is conspicuous enough in the matter of the literature—this same century saw the translation, or adaptation of *Togail Troí*, 'The Destruction of Troy',<sup>53</sup> *Togail Tebe*, 'The Destruction of Thebes', *Merugud Ulix*, 'The Wandering of Ulysses', *Imthechta Aeniasa*, 'The Wandering of Aeneas', and *In Cath Catharda*, 'The Civil War of the Romans'—but this need not blind us to the fact that, spiritually and intellectually, learned Gaelic Ireland turned in upon itself in profound distrust of the unfamiliar.

In his *The Making of the Middle Ages* R. W. Southern declares that the 'union of learning and high spirituality with popular forms and impulses'—notably as evidenced in the rise of the Arthurian legend—'is something which meets us everywhere in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.' Whether it meets us in Ireland is a moot question. (In common with most other medievalists, Southern seems quite unaware of the peculiar importance—if not indeed the very existence—of the Irish evidence.) Applied to seventh, eighth or ninth-century Ireland Southern's generalization would have been entirely appropriate; whether it fits the later period is rather more doubtful, in spite of all the concentrated industry and considerable achievements of contemporary scholars and *littérateurs*. The individual text which comes nearest to qualifying is *Acallam na Senórach*—even if it is a little short on 'high spirituality'—and one of the reasons may be that the *Acallam*, together with the Fian lays, though in itself a conscious literary creation, yet embodies something of the vigour and freshness of a popular, sub-literary current debouching upon the

<sup>52</sup> Cf. J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, edd., *The Irish Liber Hymnorum* (London, 1898), I, xxx:

'But I am not sure that the collections in their present form were originally made for the purposes of the Divine Office at all. It seems not impossible that the various pieces may have been gathered into one book at a time when the Celtic services had given place to the English use, with the pious motive of preserving a record of an older state of things. The copious glosses which elucidate (or obscure) the meaning of the phrases employed indicate rather the book of an antiquary than a service book for devotional use. Among the older Celtic monks there must have been many in the eleventh and twelfth centuries who resented the introduction of a new order of worship, and who would fain preserve the memories of their past. Our principal manuscript (*T*) might well have been written with this laudable intention. The fact that the handwriting changes towards its close, and that later pieces are added, would harmonise with the supposition that the book served as a kind of repertory of ecclesiastical pieces, of interest to a son of the Celtic Church at a time when its distinctive features were being obliterated. I do not put this forward as more than a plausible hypothesis; but I cannot otherwise satisfactorily explain the heterogeneous character of the collection, and the absence of order which the arrangement of the *Liber Hymnorum* seems to display . . .'

<sup>53</sup> Though the earliest adaptation of this text goes back to the tenth century; cf. J. Mac Eoin, *ZCP* xxviii, 202.

conventionalized literary scene.<sup>54</sup> For, by and large, the importance of the written literature of the time rests in what it has safeguarded from the yield of earlier centuries rather than in any original contribution of its own. Themes which had once been touched or shaped by the breath of lyric and dramatic genius had by now been emptied of potentiality, and the time was ripe for a change in literary forms and attitudes,—and for parody, which is so often the most effective agent of literary change.

The parody came in due course, the parody *par excellence* of *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, poking fun at forms that had once been the source and the vehicle of inspiration, but which were by now fatigued and dulled by continual exploitation. However, this parody was out of season; the pressure of contemporary political and religious change proved more compelling, and in the event the *Aislinge* was followed by reaction rather than revolution. One consequence—and index—of the altered circumstance is the reduced status of prose narrative: cultivated assiduously by monastic *littérateurs* for several centuries, now, with the decline of the older monasteries, it lost this permanent support and patronage and was thrown back on the open market of general usage and approval. In sheer volume and popularity there is no reason to suppose that non-functional prose literature experienced any very profound change, but relative to verse its prestige among men of learning was visibly diminished. At their highest levels literature and learning tended to become concentrated in the secular schools of *filidheacht* and *seanchas*, and more than ever before since the seventh or eighth century literature and poetry became synonymous. The whole emphasis in these schools was on a tightly organized literature conducted in a spirit of utter conservatism, and indeed in some respects of regressiveness; the object, or at least the outcome, was to re-establish the learned eulogist as the arbiter of taste. While elsewhere in western Europe the new universities sprung from the old cathedral schools were sowing the seeds of learned speculation and controversy, in Ireland the *filí* closed window and door, retired to his pallet, and there in profound darkness sought the gift of words as his ancient forbears had sought the gift of prophecy.

In this way was resolved, at least for the time being, the old dualism of Irish secular learning. The monastic tradition (where it did not merely wither away) had finally fused with that of the *filidh*. The result was a true blending of traditions to which the former undoubtedly made its proper contribution, notably as attested

<sup>54</sup> It should be noted that Gerard Murphy assumed some connection between the appearance of the Fian lays or ballads and the rise of balladry in other parts of western Europe during the twelfth century (*The Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland*, 20-1). However, his only reason is the coincidence of dates.

in the doctrines of *Lebor Gabála* and, perhaps, in the religious verse of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (+1244) and others; but without any question the dominant element was the tradition of *filidheacht*, which here might seem to have won its final vindication.

As we have seen, the decisive motivation of this fusion came from outside, from the rapid establishment of the Anglo-Norman presence and from the spread of ecclesiastical reform spearheaded by the Cistercians. The reformed Church, and the continental orders who were its agents, could claim responsibility for directly superseding the native monasteries, but it is doubtful whether the cultural consequences of their accession would have been as sweeping or as decisive had they not been reinforced so soon by the impact of the Norman invasion. There is evidence of considerable foreign influence in art, architecture and literature during the earlier part of the twelfth century and there is no reason to suppose that, but for the Norman intrusion, this exotic element would not have been assimilated without excessive strain upon the fabric of native culture. In the event, the shock of the invasion and subsequent conquest ruled out the prospect of such a gradual integration and created instead a new polarity in Irish society and a cultural insecurity which was to affect profoundly the future course of native learning and literature by impelling their exponents towards policies of retrenchment and retrospection.<sup>55</sup>

In ecclesiastical terms the effect of the Norman invasion was to fortify the non-native and anti-native elements within the reformed Church. Fr P. J. Dunning, in his account of the Arroasian order in Ireland, thinks it 'more than probable that the older houses of the order, situated within the sphere of native Irish activity and staffed with Irish monks, constituted a solid block of opposition to Norman clerical oppression.' He suggests that the coming of the Normans 'probably retarded the progress of the Arroasian order, which had been firmly established prior to the invasion. They may have thought that it was too much identified with the native Irish interest and that it exercised far too much power, judged by Anglo-Irish clerical

<sup>55</sup> The change is reflected in altered attitudes to genealogy and tribal identity, the growing disregard of the immediate pre-Norman period giving way to renewed attention; cf. J. Kelleher, 'The pre-Norman Irish genealogies,' *IHS* xvi, 147; also Francis John Byrne's remarks on the decay of tribalism in the centuries before the invasion (*Ériu* xxii, 155 f.): 'The feudalisation of Irish kingship in the eleventh and twelfth centuries seems to usher in its final doom: strong provincial kings, although they do not succeed in their ultimate goal of achieving a monarchy of all Ireland, do in the process build up their regional hegemonies into real kingdoms; they patronise art and architecture; they preside over synods and advocate the ecclesiastical reforms which are the natural concomitant of the feudalisation of society; they cease to set much store on pedigree and genealogy . . . But the Anglo-Norman invasion results in the colonisation of the most progressive parts of the country. Gaelic Ireland is thrown back upon itself; it becomes regressive and genealogies resume their previous importance.'



standards, upon the diocesan system.’<sup>56</sup> Among the Cistercians the clash of the native and Norman factions created bitter dissension leading in the first half of the thirteenth century to the revolt and disorders known as the *Conspiratio Mellifontis*. This was as much a matter of language, culture and social usage as of religious discipline: in Fr Aubrey Gwynn’s phrase, it was ‘a strenuous struggle for power between the two “nations” of English and Irish,’ and the Norman presence ensured that the weight of authority and power rested ultimately with the former.<sup>57</sup> Henceforth, the monastic regime that was in the ascendant represented all that was antithetical to the older native order both in culture and in religious organization, and it became clear beyond all doubt that the intimate association of monasticism and secular tradition that obtained formerly was now finally dissolved. This must surely have accelerated the process of consolidation and reorganization that was already shaping the later system of the hereditary schools and of classical verse, and it is scarcely to be wondered at that, when this system emerges as a visible reality, it has virtually no point of contact with Cistercian monasticism.<sup>58</sup>

This is in striking contrast to the situation in Wales, where the Cistercians, unlike the Benedictines and others, came to be identified in a very special sense with Welsh Wales. It is true that there were in Wales also Cistercians who came in under the wing of the Anglo-Norman conquerors and stayed there, but the important branch came in independently by way of west Wales and thereafter was never thought of as an appendage of the Normans. ‘Havens of ordered worship, cradles of learning, patrons of literature, pioneers in the arts of flock-management and wool-production, the Cistercian houses won a unique place in the affections of princes and peoples . . . Liberally endowed by the native princes, their [the Cistercians] houses soon became some of the most active nerve-centres of scholarly

<sup>56</sup> P. J. Dunning, *IHS* iv (1945), 310 f.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Fr Colmcille, *The Story of Mellifont* (Dublin, 1958) xxxv f., xxxviii-li, 59; *Chomhcheilg na Mainistreach Móire* (Dublin, 1968).

<sup>58</sup> Fr Colmcille comments on the lack of literary activity among the Irish Cistercians in medieval times, *The Story of Mellifont* 32. The only important exception is the Connacht annals contained in MS. Cotton Titus A. XXV: these were first recorded in the Cistercian monastery of Boyle, until 1228, and were then continued as the Premonstratensian Annals of Holy Trinity in Loch Cé, perhaps, as has been suggested, by a part of the community of Boyle who transferred their allegiance after the deposition of their abbot in 1227 and the introduction of certain disciplinary measures in the following year: ‘The spirit of the reform and all of the changes which had taken place in 1228 probably appeared to threaten a disruption of the traditional pattern in Boyle and all these factors could have led to a decision being made by a section of the community at Boyle towards the end of 1228 to move to Holy Trinity and to continue the Annals of Boyle on the basis of a copy in another proximate and now much more sympathetic environment’ (B. W. O’Dwyer, ‘The Annals of Connacht and Loch Cé and the Monasteries of Boyle and Holy Trinity’, *Proc. R.I.A.* 72 C (1972), 88; cf. also Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, ‘The Annals of Connacht and the Abbey of Cong’, *Journ. of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.* xxvii (1956-7), 1-9).

and intellectual life in Wales. Symbolic of their growing assumption of responsibility is the way in which the monks of Strata Florida took over the chronicle of the deeds of the Welsh princes, *Brut y Tywysogyon*.<sup>59</sup> This transfer of the chronicle from the old Celtic monastery of Llanbadarn took place about 1175, a mere eleven years after the foundation of Strata Florida.<sup>60</sup>

Thus the change from Celtic to continental monasticism, far from terminating monastic interest in Welsh literature, in fact greatly intensified it. It is hardly an over-simplification to suggest that the whole system of Welsh poetics was being drawn within the orbit of the Church and ecclesiastical learning at a time when its Irish counterpart was withdrawing into a secular solidarity opposed to, or at least set apart from, the new monasticism. The poetry of the *Gogynfeirdd* or Poets of the Welsh Princes, which begins in the early twelfth century, is strongly impregnated with religious thought and includes many poems of purely religious content,<sup>61</sup> and no doubt this may be attributed in part to the close communion that existed between monasticism and native poetry. This association survives the period of the *Gogynfeirdd* and perhaps receives its most striking realization in the many fifteenth-century eulogies and elegies to clerical patrons, both seculars and abbots<sup>62</sup>—poems for which there is virtually no parallel in contemporary Irish literature. Thus the contrasting relationships between the native *literati* of Ireland and Wales and the new monasteries may well explain some of the discrepancies between two bodies of verse which have otherwise so many features in common. There is not as yet sufficient evidence to warrant acceptance of the interesting suggestion that the poetic style of the *Gogynfeirdd* may owe something to the twelfth-century revival of classical rhetoric,<sup>63</sup> but certainly there is significance in the contrast provided by the 'grammars' which were compiled for the guidance of Welsh *ardd* and Irish *fili* during the post-twelfth century period. Whereas the Irish tracts (unlike the older *Auraicept na nÉces*) ignore for the most part Latin principles of grammatical analysis, their Welsh counterparts are 'almost entirely a translation of some version of the Latin grammar associated with the names of Donatus and

<sup>59</sup> Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, (Cardiff, 1962), 9–20, 24. Cf. Frank R. Lewis, 'The Racial Sympathies of the Welsh Cistercians', *Trans. Cymmwr. Soc.*, 1938, p. 103–118.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Sir John Edward Lloyd, *The Welsh Chronicles*. The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture. British Academy (London, 1928), p. 382 ff.; Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion*. *The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff, 1952), xxxix–xli; Glanmor Williams, op. cit., 24.

<sup>61</sup> A collection of these latter has been edited by Professor Henry Lewis in *Hen Gerddi Refyddol* (Cardiff, 1931).

<sup>62</sup> On the question of the chronology of poems to monastic patrons see Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, 260 n. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. D. Myrddin Lloyd, *Llên Cymru* i, 137; *BBCS* vi, 124, 125, 130.

Priscianus.<sup>64</sup> While the Welsh authors simply took over the medieval concept of grammar as an independent discipline, the first of the seven liberal arts, the Irish turned their gaze inwards upon their own literary language and described it 'with a wealth of detail unparalleled in any European language of the period.'<sup>65</sup> In this at least the Irish *filidh* proved more realistic than the Welsh *beirdd*; and what is more remarkable, theirs was a realism born of insularity and reaction.

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<sup>64</sup> Thomas Parry, *The Welsh Metrical Treatise attributed to Einion Offeiriad*, Rhŷs Mem. Lecture, 1961, p. 180: cf. *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*, ed. G. J. Williams and E. J. Jones, xxxiv; Ifor Williams, *Y Cymmrodor*, xxvi, 128 ff.

<sup>65</sup> O. Bergin, *The Native Irish Grammarian*, Rhŷs Mem. Lecture, 1938, p. 7.



## ON THE COLLATION OF *LEBOR NA HUIDRE*

WHEN in 1967 Mr. R. Powell repaired and rebound *Lebor na hUidre* he was able, according to the account of his work in *Ériu*<sup>1</sup>, to pair 44 of the 67 surviving leaves, so that he could reconstruct three gatherings of 14, 14 and 15 leaves respectively—pp. 27–53, 55–81 and 83–111, in the latter gathering pp. 93, 103 and 109 having no conjugates. It seems, however, that on the basis of the seventeenth-century foliation in LU a bit more can be said about the collation of the manuscript after the so-called interpolator **H** had done his work.

Of the original first fifteen leaves of the manuscript now only eight survive (pp. 1–16), but from both the early alphabetical and the seventeenth-century foliation<sup>2</sup> we see that—as the leaves paginated 3 and 5 have been conjugate—the manuscript opened with a gathering of 14 leaves. All these are in **A**'s hand apart from f. 14<sup>v</sup> (p. 16) on which **H** continues *Scél Tuain meic Cairill*, of which the beginning is found on the recto in **A**'s hand.

After this first gathering again three leaves are lost (ff. *p*, *q*, *r* = 15, 16, 17), and then Mr. Powell's first gathering begins, taking up ten leaves in the alphabetical foliation (*s*, [*t*, *u*, *x*, *y*], *z* [7], *est*, [*amen*], *a*) and nine in the seventeenth-century foliation as the leaf foliated *amen* had apparently already disappeared at that time. Mr. Powell thinks that pp. 19–20 and 21–22 once formed a bifolio, so that the lost leaf 7 (f. 24) must have been a single leaf. Also according to Mr. Powell the leaves paginated 17–18 and 23–24 formed a bifolio which implies that in the earlier state three leaves between pp. 17–18 and 19–20 (now all lost, but present in the seventeenth-century) must have been single leaves. I agree with Mr. Powell as to a bifolio 17–18 / 23–24 as this is also supported by the direction of the spine, but I think that the early foliations suggest a different arrangement as possible and more likely. Because, having shown the probability of a fourteen-leaves gathering at the beginning of the manuscript, the second would begin with the now lost leaf *p* (f. 15) and carry on till the now lost leaf *d* (f. 29) of the following alphabetical section. So we get the following bifolia: *p* (f. 15)–*d* (f. 29); *q* (f. 16)–*c* (f. 28); *r* (f. 17)–*b* (f. 27, pp. 25–26); *s* (f. 18, pp. 17–18)–*a* (f. 26, pp. 23–24); *t* (f. 19)–*amen* (lost); *u* (f. 20)–*est* (f. 25, pp. 21–22); *x* (f. 21)–7 (f. 24); *y* (f. 22)–*z* (f. 23, pp. 19–20).

<sup>1</sup> *Ériu* 21 (1969), pp. 99–102.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Table below and R. I. Best, 'Notes on the Script of *Lebor na hUidre*', *Ériu* 6 (1912), pp. 161–173; R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin, *Lebor na hUidre*, Dublin 1929; H.P.A. Oskamp, 'Notes on the History of *Lebor na hUidre*', *PRIA* 65 C 6 (1957), pp. 117–137.

This is further supported by the fact that the following, now lost leaves *e-s* were already lost in the seventeenth century. It is interesting to notice that, supposing these leaves *e-s* are within a single alphabetical section, they might make up for one gathering of fifteen leaves.

As to the next gathering which Mr. Powell suggests, I can only agree, although some explanation and some supporting evidence can be given. According to Mr. Powell pp. 27-28 form the first leaf of the gathering. This is supported by the fact that here the principal scribe **A** makes a new start (Mael Muire having written nearly the entire preceding gathering) with a copy of *Fis Adamndin*. This means that pp. 53-54 must indeed be the last leaf of the gathering. The leaves formed by pp. 33-34, 35-36 and 41-42 are completely in **H**'s hand and sewn onto leaves written by **M**. In 1966 I suggested that this may indicate "that in the time of the interpolator pp. 37-38 still formed a bifolio with another leaf. It seems not impossible that this was pp. 47-48."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Powell's findings now confirm this suggestion. At the same occasion I also suggested that like pp. 33-34, 35-36 and 41-42, also pp. 39-40, 43-44 and 45-46, which are all in **H**'s hand might have been sewn onto leaves by **M**. Mr. Powell's findings show that this is more than likely for pp. 45-46, but not true for pp. 39-40 and 43-44, as these two folia originally formed a bifolio. However, it appears that at present both leaves have the hairsides as the rectos, which means that in **H**'s time they were already separated and that **H** used the erased pp. 39-40 backside front. I think it at least probable that the other half is in the right position as in this gathering all rectos are hairsides.

The next gathering in Mr. Powell's table should, I think, be enlarged by one, now lost bifolio formed by ff. *h* (17th c. f. 44) and *z* (already lost in the 17th century). In that case we have another original gathering of 14 leaves (pp. 55-81 + one lost bifolio) with two single leaves added by **H** (pp. 71-72 and 75-76).

The following gathering consists of only twelve leaves to which three single leaves, entirely written by **H**, are added.

As to the remainder of the manuscript little can be said, although I think a reasonable theory as to its make-up can be given. Before we can discuss that, however, we must have a look at what we have found so far, and at the system of hair- and fleshsides in these gatherings.

With reasonable certainty we can now list the following gatherings of *Lebor na hUidre*:

- i. *a-o*, 14 leaves, still all present in the seventeenth century, of which now only eight survive.
- ii. *p-d*, 16 leaves of which one was already lost in the seventeenth century (*amen*) and of which now only five survive.

<sup>3</sup> *PRIA* 65 C 6 (1967), p. 134.

- iii. *e-s*, a hypothetical gathering of fifteen leaves, all lost before the seventeenth century.
- iv. *t-g*, 14 leaves, all present in the seventeenth century and in the manuscript as it stands. Four leaves are added as single leaves by **H**.
- v. *h-z*, 16 leaves of which the first and last are lost, though the first was still present in the seventeenth century. Two single leaves are added by **H**.
- vi. *z-l*, 15 leaves, all present in the seventeenth century and in the manuscript as it stands, of which three have been added as single leaves by **H**.
- vii. *m-z*, see below.

When we turn to the way in which the original gatherings have been put together, we notice that in general the material indicates that hairside was put onto fleshside, the outsides of the gatherings being hairsides.

This, however, is immediately contradicted by the first gathering, but only as far as the central bifolio is concerned. The remaining leaves of *i*. confirm the statement.

About the second gathering I come to speak below. The fourth (pp. 27-53) (the third being hypothetical) has hair- and fleshsides in the indicated order though the leaves added by **H** are out of order. The same applies to the bifolio originally made up of pp. 39-40 and 43-44, but it is completely in **H**'s hand, so that it is very probable that pp. 39-40 are put in again by **H** back to front. If anything, it is clear that **H**, though a clever and skillful restorer, had little feeling for hair- and fleshsides.

The fifth and sixth gatherings are completely in order.

There remains one problem in the second gathering; here the central bifolio seems to be out of order. This might, of course, be just a mistake, like in the first gathering, but there is an explanation which is certainly not improbable. Particularly as hair- onto fleshsides seems the general rule—not only in LU, but in all Irish manuscripts of that period I have studied so far<sup>4</sup>—I am more inclined to look for an explanation than to accept a mistake.

Like most problems concerning LU this too can be solved by looking at the role of the interpolator / restorer **H**. If I am right **H** found LU in a very bad state: leaves were lost, many bifolia were taken apart, texts were incomplete and acephalous. So he set to repair what was not beyond repair, to complete what could be completed

<sup>4</sup> Probably from Clonmacnois or related monasteries: Bodl. Rawl. B. 502 (1), Franc. Libr. MS A 1 (Inis Cealtra), Bodl. Rawl. B. 488 (1). It also applies to Vat. MS Pal. Lat. 65 and Brit. Mus. MS Harl. 1802 from Bangor (?) and Armagh respectively.



from any source he could find, and to add whatever he thought fit to add to the already mixed contents of the manuscript. Now I suppose he found the present pages 19-20 as a single leaf, its conjugate being lost, and he fitted it into the manuscript as f. 2 (later f. 23, now pp. 19-20). But originally the leaf belonged on the place of the now lost, but at one time present leaf *y* (later f. 22).

One might say that the leaf in that case could have come from anywhere, but this is contradicted by its contents which are continued (by **M**) after a lost leaf on f. *est* (f. 25, pp. 21-22). One of the effects of interchanging pp. 19-20 and its now lost conjugate is, that if I were to reconstruct the gathering as it was before it was damaged and restored, I would have to put f. *est* (f. 25, pp. 21-22) in the place of the lost f. 7, and f. *a* in the place of f. *amen* which was already lost in the seventeenth century.

A wrongly replaced bifolio may also be the explanation of the disorder in the seventh gathering. Here the central bifolio consists of pp. 115-116 and 117-118; the second of pp. 113-114 and 119-120. The possible next bifolio is lost before the seventeenth century (alph. ff. *q-u*). Pp. 115-116 are entirely written by **H**. He finishes *Siaburcharpat Con Culaind* (which was begun by **M** on p. 113<sup>a</sup>1), and starts with *Cath cairnd Chonaill* which he finishes on p. 117. The remainder of that page and the whole of p. 118 are taken up by *Comthoth Lóegaire*. On p. 119 **M** opens with *Fástini Airt meic Cuind*. Now I suppose that **H** found pp. 113-114 and 119-120 still forming a bifolio, but that he put it in again having folded it the wrong way. This would mean that on the original central bifolio—now replaced by one in **H**'s hand—*Cethri arda in domain* was finished which **M** started on present p. 120<sup>b</sup>, whereas the remainder was probably taken up by some other text. I am afraid, however, that a reconstruction of *Lebor na hUidre* as it looked before it was damaged and subsequently restored is impossible for most of it.

As to the remainder of this possible gathering little can be said. Pp. 123-124 and 125-126 are probably single leaves added by **H**, as their sizes differ considerably from those of the rest of the manuscript. I incline to expect that the same applies to the leaf between these two which was already lost before the seventeenth century. Perhaps the same can be said of pp. 127-128 where **H** finishes *Tochmarc Emere* on the recto, and **M** begins *Compert Con Culaind* on the verso, a text which is not continued on the next leaf. In that case lost ff. *m, n, o* might have been the original conjugates of pp. 129-130, 131-132, 133-134. But all this is completely uncertain.

We can, however, draw one conclusion: even *Lebor na hUidre* is much more regular in its make-up than it seems to be at first sight. And I am sure that, in its original form, before **H**'s probably necessary

restorations, the manuscript was just as regular and orderly as other contemporary Irish manuscripts.<sup>5</sup>

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alphab. fol.	17th-c. fol.	pagin. on r°	hand	H/F on rectos	arrangement	pagin. on r°
[a]	[1]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
b	2	1	A	H		1
[c]	[3]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[d]	[4]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[e]	[5]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[f]	[6]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
g	7	3	A	F		3
h	8	5	A	H		5
[i]	9	7	A	F		7
k	[10]	9	A	F		9
l	11	11	A	F		11
m	12	13	A	F		13
[n]	[13]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
o	14	15	A r° H v°	F		15

<sup>5</sup> This paper, though in a slightly different form, is meant to become part of a description of LU which will be published together with descriptions of all known Irish manuscripts written between 1050 and 1300. I am enabled to do this work by a substantial grant of the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO).

alphab. fol.	17th-c. fol.	pagin. on r <sup>o</sup>	hand	H/F on rectos	arrangement	pagin on r <sup>o</sup>
[p]	[15]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[q]	[16]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[r]	[17]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
s	18	17	M	H		17
[t]	[19]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[u]	[20]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[x]	[21]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[y]	[22]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
z	23	19 <sup>1</sup>	M	H		19
[7]	[24]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
est	[25]	21 <sup>2</sup>	M inner H outer	F inner H outer		21
[amen]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
a	26	23	M	F		23
b	27	25	H	H		25
[c]	[28]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[d]	[29]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>

<sup>1</sup> Powell thinks that this leaf is conjoint with *est*. In my opinion it should be interchanged with the now lost leaf *y*.

<sup>2</sup> This leaf consists of an original inner half and an outer half sewn onto it in **H**'s time.



alphab. fol.	17th-c. fol.	pagin. on r°	hand	H/F on rectos	arrangement	pagin. on r°
[e-s] <sup>3</sup>	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
t	30	27	A M	H		27
v	31	29	M	H		29
x	32	31	M H	H		31
z <sup>4</sup>	33	33	H	F	— —	33
7	34	35	H	H	— —	35
est	35	37	H M	H		37
amen	36	39 <sup>5</sup>	H	F		39
a	37	41	H	F	—	41
b	38	43	H	F		43
c	3 [9]	45	H	H	—	45
d	40	47	M	F		47
[e]	41	49	M	F		49
f	42	51	M	F		51
g	43	53	M	F		53

<sup>3</sup> At least 15 leaves—perhaps one gathering.<sup>4</sup> In 1966 I thought this to be *cs*.<sup>5</sup> Probably put in with the original recto now as verso.

alphab. fol.	17th-c. fol.	pagin. on r°	hand	H/F on rectos	arrangement	pagin. on r°
[h]	[44]	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
i	45	55	A H M	H		55
k	46	57	M	H		57
[l]	[47]	59	M	H		59
m	48	61	M	H		61
n	49	63	M	H		63
o	50	65	M	H		65
p	51	67	M	F		67
q	52	69	M	F		69
r	53	71	H	H	—	71
s	54	73	M	F		73
t	55	75	H	F	—	75
u	56	77	M	F		77
x	57	79	M	F		79
[y]	58	81	M	F		81
[z]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[7-y]	<i>lost</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>

<sup>6</sup> At least 25 leaves—perhaps two gatherings.

alphab. fol.	17th-c. fol.	pagin. on r°	hand	H/F on rectos	arrangement	pagin. on r°
[z]	59	83	M	H		83
7	60	85	M	H		85
est	61	87	M	H		87
amen	62	89	M	H		89
a	63	91	M	H		91
b	64	93	H	H	—	93
c	65	95	M	H		95
d	66	97	M	F		97
e	67	99	M	F		99
f	68	101	M	F		101
g	69	103	H	H?	—	103
h	70	105	H M	F		105
i	[71]	107	M H	F		107
k	72	109	H	F	—	109
l	73	111	M	F		111



alphab. fol.	17th-c. fol.	pagin. on r°	hand	H/F on rectos	arrangement	pagin. on r°
[m]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>			(highly hypothetical)	<i>lost</i>
[n]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[o]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[p]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
[q]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
r	74	113 <sup>7</sup>	M	F		113
s	75	115	H	H		115
s	76	117	H	F		117
t	77	119	M	H		119
[u]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>				<i>lost</i>
x	78	121	M	F		121
v <sup>8</sup>	79	123	H	H	---	123
[z]	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>			---	<i>lost</i>
	84	125	H	H	---	125
	80	127	H M	H	---	127
		129	M	F		129
		131	M	F		131
		133	M	F		133

<sup>7</sup> Probably interchanged with f. t (p. 119-120).

<sup>8</sup> Read *y*?

# GILLA ÍSA MAC FIR BHSIGH AND A SCRIBE OF HIS SCHOOL

GILLA Ísa Mac Donnchaidh Mhóir Mhic Fhir Bhisigh is one of the great names in the history of the Irish manuscript tradition. He was poet and historian to Ó Dubhda of Tír Fhiachrach (bar. of Tireragh, Sligo) at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, and although that hereditary office is known to have been held by members of the Clann Fhir Bhisigh long before Gilla Ísa's time, the manuscripts written by him and his scribes are the earliest authenticated records from the school of Lecan.<sup>1</sup> These are the Great Book of Lecan (generally referred to in writing as 'Lec.') and the manuscript comprising cols. 573-958 of the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL). In the writing of large parts of Lec. Gilla Ísa was assisted by two scribes whose names are known, viz. Murchadh Ó Cuindlis and Adhamh Ó Cuirnín, and by an anonymous scribe whose role has escaped the notice of modern scholars.

The first of two manuscripts ('A' and 'B') that form the volume numbered 72.1.8 (and generally known as Gaelic MS. VIII) in the National Library of Scotland is also a product of the MacFirbis scribal school, and thirty eight of its fifty four pages are from the pen of Gilla Ísa. His handwriting in this manuscript may, perhaps, be best compared with the larger script in parts of his manuscript in YBL, e.g. cols. 581-2, 628-9. Some of the clearest characteristics of the hand are the short heavily-topped ascenders, the short

<sup>1</sup> Leacán (Lackan, par. of Kilglass, see O.S. Sligo 16) is believed to have been the seat of the Clann Fhir Bhisigh from the time of their settlement on the east side of the Moy estuary; see O'Donovan, *The genealogies, tribes, and customs of Hy-Fiachrach* (1844) 237, 407. Dubhaltach Óg Mac Fir Bhisigh, the genealogist, says (referring mainly, it seems, to the time of Gilla Ísa's school) that 'books of chronicles, annals, poems and history' (*lebhair airisíon annalach duan agus seanchusa*) were written at 'Leacán Mic Fhirbhisigh' and that 'a long time later' (*edh cian iaramh*) a castle (see O.S. Sligo 10) was built there 'in the year 1560.' Only one manuscript, however, gives (or appears to give) Leacán as its place of writing; it is a manuscript (now part of NLire. G 10) written by Dubhaltach Mór Mac Fir Bhisigh, the genealogist's grandfather. On p. 12, as part of a colophon, it exhibits a hand-symbol (a common tailpiece) combined with some obscure lettering placed between the thumb (upright) and the fingers (curved) and preceded (in the line above it) by the letter *a*. Professor Jackson (*Cath Maighe Léna*, introd. xi) reads this part of the colophon, without taking the hand-symbol into account, as 'a lec- mo locc' (i.e. 'a Lecán mo locc'). The final letter, however, appears to be a faintly closed *o* (though not unlike *c*) and it seems that this cryptic end-part (following what looks more like a comma than 'γ') is intended to give (1) the date 'a D [this letter being represented by the thumb upright and the curve of the fingers] 16<sup>o</sup> moloco' i.e. A.D. 1600 = M<sup>o</sup> 50 0 C<sup>o</sup>) and (2) suggest the place of writing as 'Lec mo locc' by means of the part (16<sup>o</sup> moloco) enclosed by the hand-symbol. The name of the place of writing is thus appropriately separated from the letter *a* (which is at the end of the preceding line), for the preposition is not used with the word 'loc' ('log') in scribal phrases like 'Leacán mo log'.





bator dgelei; ore ciotat amoj. hantipm  
 gupareno ish ualagut tiatnoi  
 utuacalotim eni mutipf corotipag  
 luepimipag dgelei; reopomare canoac  
 ulam ilatit Roctigail yuocimbis na  
 oiaoj ipgonatf nange he tuato  
 upceaoa coapita uchoyeyuoaqim  
 natheo uho murechoe uo uchoyeyuoa

[illegible]



ari longi le ky. / S narycel h m q i to can. /  
**R** a n a h a r c h l i h y w o c h u m a m p o i . p e s a u a o c o c e o d i n g  
 o p b a n y a p i l o n g e . n a n g s s i t o c h o s b a n l n a c h i n g  
 I S a n y w o c o n a c o n a s s d n u c u t o a r n a m a b o n a p a n  
 e c o a p p e r u b a c h p p p e b p e i l o a g o d a t o e n a n g m c o  
 n o t e p a r g a o l e o p a m i l a c h a a r c h i y t g u m a c o l a n e  
 m a p u e n y y a n c a n n o b a d a m t p a g o d a t o a c o p e m a n  
 p o m o c h a g y l o o p l i n t o m g w b l i c h n a n g m a r p a p y  
 s u b a t g u a n a c y o n a p a a t o n u p y n y . / . w l o n g e t  
**K** a a a m p o . c l a b . m i . c a m g p u t e t o y n a c a a n p a g  
 w o c o n a n y e n a h a p u a t o b h a n a c l a b p o p o e a p i c o  
 m o n c o n a g i b a c h l a m p e i t c h y p o n a p i a c a l a n o c o n i c h  
 p e m l o n i d a o w y p a n g t g a p a n g y p i o t y o a d c o y i  
 a n o p t a m n g a n c a l y w e n a z e b i s p b a l o n g e w  
**B** a a n a n g s . m i . n o l i n g s s o h a c h l a m a g a p b a p i c o m  
 u l w o n a c l a b p y w c h u a t a q u e l a n m a g m u t g  
 t u e o a m . p n a t o c h n p i m e a i r u b a c h e u o p a n

p o s s e b n a o n e w o b o l a n g a t o p o p e a d a n t  
 o l a n o p o r o a d c o n a c e a n g q u e o n e p u e t a n  
 p m w o c o m m y e a n a c l a p o d a l l p r o p a b p a a p a  
 w o c a l o c h y e q l e a c t a g a c h i o p e g a a i n g y e  
**A** c i y w o p a n o p u y m b i n d n a y u b a p p n a c h r o a p a p  
 s h i n b l e y a n g i p o p u p y l o l a t a p i m e p a n m o u t  
 w o c h u n l a a c a b p a n p i g a l a b a n w o c h i o p a p p a  
 a c h e a c h a c h a p i n g a l a b w b a c h p p i n a g o s t r u b a o  
 p u a n c o y n a c a t h / S m i n e a w . m i . w o b a r g a p a l  
**N** a y l e g a p i a c a t w p e a r p a . w o c h e o n p y w n a c o p  
 n a g a p a b a l l e p a b l i c h p p i n g i p a p e a r o p p i n  
 e n g s a p i r u a p i e q u e l m a g i m a g m u a m u a b  
 w p i n a o c o l a n a n c i n p e t a a a w s y r . i . p o t p a a o  
 a p e c h m e o n c o l a n e a n y n o a p i q u e o a p a r g e l l a t  
 m o e a s i g o n S a n y . i . i o o y a d w a n b a n o a n e s e  
**I** s a m a n n a b a n g a c t a p i n a h n a c b o p p I S a n w n y  
 a m p a n g . p a l a m a l a n g l a a p a a o p a b i n e a  
 a p p o y p a c a n p o p a c e c i n g i a m t p I S a n w b a n  
 a g a b a n a g a a c i p . a p a g p o t m e p a n e p a l a n

[illegible]

**C**alestini inno amēti. nre  
 m lēnam na lēn bātē. nōcā tēro an tēclay  
 qm in bu tēna dīoy s hō. pūgi ē bīu tēh  
 Dāmām bē mī lōdī. coluto tēpī pūgi ē pī  
 pūgi gūll. tēcom pūgi nē cōt cūl tēdō sīy  
 Rēpāro amī anāpī. nō bīdā dēh olē tēb dēh  
 dēb hēdē. bāp dē mē tēpē mōy dēh dēh sīdā  
 Dē dēh mī lō cūllā. pē nē mē anā mōt. mī  
 mātē tē bē oll tēto tēpī dēh hē cōn sīdā  
 Hāo dē dē nēo cōluto pī. dēpī pūgi tēpī mī pūgi  
 mī tēo dēpī pūgi. cōpī dēh lēch dēh dēh dēh  
 Fē dēh dēh dēh dēh. cūcāt tēpī dēh dēh dēh  
 cūl nē dēh. tē dēh mōt mī dēh. sīpī pī cōtō  
 Rēpī cūl dēh dēh. cōhē dēh dēh nō pīpī. dēh dēh  
 dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh. L. sīpī dēh dēh dēh  
 Rēpī dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh  
 dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh dēh

**C**aymo mal dinnis ul- cdm:  
 moham. m. t. caym luf. r. luf. mal co dext  
 ychlu. luf. um. long. a hallan. apchry co topy  
 yf. co moy. luf. allan co tuc. mo. q. caym co ul  
 co dinnis. nam. Cloe. caym. co. mo. co. dext  
 la. luf. m. co. co. mo. to. an. caym. m. p. p. co  
 bay. luf. dcm. bay. an. a. ch. caym. m. caym. luf. m.



[illegible]

[illegible]

**O**lmali arduam moq m p h o t p n u n g l a n p m a n n  
 zel zu such d n g t c h n i . j a n n o d e c a d t h e f m a d e p  
 u p h a n o r j u s t a m n a d a r e i a n l a d e a n n . i . m u a t a i  
 m a c i m d a r j m b e t h m j e n n a i z d h u a r e d a r j a b s  
 u b . D a n a n d i o s u p n a t o p a n n a l a n g n o b p a r d h a n  
 y o p t e m a m a t a l a n g n o b n o b e t h a c o m m a g i b . D a b l a n  
 a d a n n d y o g a p a n n z . j p e p a n n z o z o s a n d i . i . a l m o  
 p r o b j n o b o b a t c h i l y t o m a d a r . i . a l m u . j . b f e a m  
**N** a d a n g l o d u n a d u m d i a n o p a n a l m a n j n o c o l l o l u m a  
 d i a p o n o c o p t o h e f e l t n i j a u d o e f f n o b e t a l m a  
 j e n d i a n e b n d a . S n u l a m a n t n e d i a t a n g . j p d e a t a l  
 p n g e l a n d i m a n n a n n a n n p h i o . m a n n o g a l b a d a e l f i . z o  
 a l m a a n a l m a n . j p a b a t b e n m u a t a r . i . a l m o d e u p n a n d  
 a h a m a t o b e t h p o n n e m u e a n n e j a a d o m a c e r u p i z a t  
 d i a n e b n i a d . S n o r t b a p p u a n a i l . a h a n n a n n a n n e  
**I** m n j o b a l a n n a n b e n . b e n n u a t a r m o j m a n c e r a p o c i  
 c o m l . a n . D a n n i p a n l i m a n l a n n u a t a r . i . a d e m n u a t o .  
**N** a n n u . j . d u n n o d u n n i a a b a t c h i l y j p d e . D u n n a n n a d .  
 a n a t o s . T a n n g b a y a n n u a t a r j n a p a n n b m .  
 n o b a a d o m a n n j p e t a o s p a d i d a d h a n n a n  
 h i j a a c h i . b n e t h n a n n u . j . d a d o s . i . m u n n m m u n  
 c a n a h a n n n a p a n n a n n m o n n a n n n s i p c o m b r o n .  
 n i n n j n o p l a d u n n a h i . a a t c o e . D a n t o a n a l m e





descenders (esp. *r*), an occasional break between the head and the cross-stroke of the letter *e*, and a forward-tilted *a*; see Plates I, II.

Another hand in Gaelic VIII ('A') wrote p. 11, l. 28–p. 16 (single-columned folio included) and pp. 45–54.<sup>2</sup> This hand, shown in Plate III, is to be identified with a hand that appears in association with Gilla Ísa's writing in parts of Lec., especially between f. 70b and f. 263b; see Plate IV. Kathleen Mulchrone,<sup>3</sup> probably misled by O'Curry,<sup>4</sup> attributed the part played by the unidentified assistant scribe in Lec. ff. 70–1, 74–83, 122–4, 191, 255–63 to Adhamh Ó Cuirnín, whose principal contribution to the volume, in ff. 1–21v, is signed and dated (1418) and whose hand is unmistakable in ff. 310v–11v. The unidentified hand that makes its appearance in association with that of Gilla Ísa in many places in Lec.<sup>5</sup> can be easily distinguished from Ó Cuirnín's hand by means of a comparison made on the basis of a few letters, e.g. *a* and *g*. The distinction is clearer still where our unidentified scribe in Lec. relieves Ó Cuirnín in three places in the Lebar Gabála text (B-version): ff. 5a51–5, 15d10–16, 16b6½–36½;<sup>6</sup> see Plate V. The unidentified scribe in question, who worked in close co-operation with Gilla Ísa in the writing of large parts of Lec. ff. 70–263, inscribed (probably in the year 1417) the long historical and genealogical poem *Imda gablán do chloinn Chuinn*<sup>7</sup> composed in that year by Gilla Ísa for the new king of Tír Fhiachrach, Tadhg Riabhach Ó Dubhda (who had succeeded his brother Ruaidhrí).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The first manuscript ('A') in Gaelic VIII is occupied by the Irish version of the Thebaid. On the question of hands in this manuscript Mackechnie, *Cat. of Gaelic MSS* (1973) i 145, just refers the reader to Calder's comments in the *Introd. to Togail na Tebe* (1922). Our manuscript ('A') was, according to Calder (p. xiv), 'begun by two scribes simultaneously, and a space was assigned for the work of the first scribe'. The first change of hands occurs, following a gap (now filled), at p. 11a28. Calder does not seem to have distinguished between the second hand proper and a later hand that has filled the lacuna in the text (see pp. 10b40½–11a27). The later hand seems to be that of the Fergus Ó Fergail (Fergus ó Albain) who has written notes elsewhere in Gaelic VIII; see Mackechnie, *op. cit.* i 146a, nn. (xix), (xxiii). Calder thought that Ó Fergail's hand resembled the first hand in the manuscript, but they are easily distinguished.

<sup>3</sup> See *RIA Cat.* 1553 and Lec. Facsimile (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1937), p. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> See his autograph catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the RIA (*Acad. Cat.*), p. 881.

<sup>5</sup> See note on the scribes of Lec. in *Ériu* xxiv 76–9.

<sup>6</sup> In this article, the references to Lec. are to the Facsimile. Lec. is an excellently preserved manuscript, but some small parts are discoloured and a few pages are marred by the ink showing through the vellum (as may be seen in Plate V). In the discoloured areas the Facsimile (in collotype) is quite legible.

<sup>7</sup> O'Donovan may have distinguished this unidentified hand from that of Ó Cuirnín, but he merely says (*op. cit.* 176) that this poem was written into the manuscript by the author's amanuensis. Mackechnie, *op. cit.* i 252a, n.20 confuses the author of *Imda gablán do chloinn Chuinn* with the Gilla Ísa Mór who died in 1279.

<sup>8</sup> 'Ruaidrí mac Domnaill Uí Dubda rex Ua Fiachrach Muaide, tobar sonusa 7 saidbriusa Érenn uli 7 nár diúlt re dreich nduine riam im biad ná im édach. in Christo quieuit iar n-ongad 7 aithrige ndingbála do Dia 7 don Eclais Catholeeda 7 iar caithem Cuirp [Christ] 7 a Fhola ina longphort budéin hi tús Erraig do shunrad, 7 Tade Riabach Ua Dubda a derbráthair féin do gabáil a inait iarom' (see *Ann. Conn.* 1417.2). Ruaidhrí died at Dún Néill (see Lec. 76b15–16). The site of this castle is near the village of Dromore (West), see O.S. Sligo 12.



1. ac i q. an p. com. o. p. p. p. m. e. d. a. i. n. e. d. e. u. l. l. e. l. e. p. h. i.  
 2. u. s. i. e. p. o. c. e. d. h. o. s. a. l. b. l. e. c. o. r. p. u. a. d. i. t. d. u. l. l. e. d. e. m. e.  
 3. t. u. l. i. q. l. e. c. h. i. c. h. i. a. s. e. u. l. p. o. t. i. m. p. a. s. t. u. e. i. m. a. d.  
 4. c. o. p. a. n. c. o. p. n. a. t. o. h. o. m. i. o. e. l. l. o. n. o. a. n. n. e. d. h. u. m. i. s. t. a. l.  
 5. l. o. m. b. a. r. c. h. i. a. l. t. y. e. p. b. a. c. h. i. a. l. e. u. a. m. e. a. p. c. a. n. t. y. a. m. b. o.  
 6. n. o. p. a. n. a. d. h. a. p. m. a. l. d. i. n. a. m. n. o. p. a. l. l. e. a. p. p. o. s. t. o. r. a. s.  
 7. l. n. o. p. a. p. p. u. b. a. n. t. m. e. d. i. s. t. a. n. t. i. a. m. o. p. a. l. l. e. a. p. p. o. s. t. o. r. a. s.  
 8. l. n. o. p. a. p. p. u. b. a. n. t. m. e. d. i. s. t. a. n. t. i. a. m. o. p. a. l. l. e. a. p. p. o. s. t. o. r. a. s.  
 9. l. n. o. p. a. p. p. u. b. a. n. t. m. e. d. i. s. t. a. n. t. i. a. m. o. p. a. l. l. e. a. p. p. o. s. t. o. r. a. s.  
 10. l. n. o. p. a. p. p. u. b. a. n. t. m. e. d. i. s. t. a. n. t. i. a. m. o. p. a. l. l. e. a. p. p. o. s. t. o. r. a. s.

smclm soyu. each cato Ichm enlammoyu. ll. coe garb dany  
 Farbato me mapi p. r. e. n. r. mli barmoy bfo. ocaup  
 ipuchang n. f. loch. ll. r. o. w. abjadu itam buy cio. p. r. e. ll.  
 itam pinto po eapicay cap. opomachetator. a monna  
 aquara apuleato. p. u. r. b. Goubah mibo mef. u. r.  
 Ibr au cam; iohafm. m. Ibr au. r. u. u. r. au. r.  
 Iba probato ampyi o bany. hie may au. r. e. ga  
 me umoyi dny puce atyne. s. me uach aeb paa  
 ach eal a hie uchi e. gla. ca d amunc pa gy bano  
 hie. r. yacq p lan mny may dny non gab dny h. di  
 yay nny agte conglamab ammbanab dny ato

[illegible]

**C**alma an gēato claro diachayn. et eo non chinall dñi.  
 opim tall am catayn et folaz, et each a clā chin. o bñ.  
**C**ach moyp amo mēayn. mēpiot wot lelt. caiplog obanq  
 con amayn moymills. a chin. pa moz clā mē cony pllaz  
 ab each na wōt ym. may pñ toleabiblatz. nallichyus con  
 tēy pēa canzal. et each na pllz pñm. pa amma cāe mēp-erb.  
 inb anroba na nāydz. o nāozgaro. pa nro pñ pa pñp-erb  
 pāca bāe anbyuclat. pa hōzj wot each. nāchoe wopon  
 hēhina pēat ēca ancat. hōunt oīan nōfōnāc. et pāca cā  
 lñ lamaz. apm diacā cā anaz. o inb. pñlzi pñlzi ym  
 nōpñ pñt nāpñ pñm. inēh each ēnopñ. y nāo hī pñlzi  
 Et nōpñ pñt nāpñ. hī pñt ēca ancat. in dūmāca tēm.  
 nāpñ cā cñll nāchēst pñm. mūzi. pñm ambāc bynōy nāz.  
 Et mēluz nāñt mñ. pñanēca ap cūl cony pllz. tāt mñm cā  
 a tāt apñ hēc apñm dūm. nānzāpō pā cāno dñm. pñat omb

[illegible]



The author of the poem entered three quatrains (apparently in a rather infirm hand) viz. two quatrains beginning at f. 74b38 and one beginning at f. 75c28. By 1417-8 our unnamed scribe and Adhamh Ó Cuirnín had, it would appear, taken over the writing of the book from the great master of the school.<sup>9</sup>

In Gilla Ísa's manuscript in YBL cols. 573-958 a long intervention by another hand at cols. 872, 23-877, 6½ has not hitherto been observed, so far as the present writer knows. This hand, which is shown in the left-hand column of plate VI, appears to be that of Gilla Ísa's pupil Murchadh Ó Cuindlis (see his hand in Lec. ff. 151-62v). The right-hand column on the plate shows twelve lines from the hand of Gilla Ísa and twenty four lines from the unidentified hand that appears in parts of Lec. ff. 70-263. This last hand's contribution to YBL, cols. 877, 28-878, 46, is made on a folio that appears to have been partially left blank. This entry is probably of later date than the bulk of Gilla Ísa's manuscript, part of which is dated 1391 (see YBL col. 857).

The NLire. MS. G 4 (Phillipps MS. 8214) was recognised by Best as having once formed part of YBL. He is said to have recognised it when examining the Phillipps collection in Cheltenham<sup>10</sup> on behalf of the National Library of Ireland; but the first description of the manuscript (NLire. *Report of the Council of Trustees for 1930-1*, 16) makes no mention of the main hand. However, in Bergin and Best's edition of Tochmarc Étaíne (from G 4 and YBL) in *Ériu* xii (1938) 137-96 it is stated (137 n.2) that 'the handwriting is apparently that of Gilla-Ísa mac Donnchaidh Móir mic Fhir Bhisigh'. To anyone familiar with the hand of the great scribe of Lec. and of YBL cols. 573-958 this seems a very surprising statement to come from two eminent scholars. A letter-by-letter comparison shows clearly that none of the hands in G 4 is that of Gilla Ísa Mac Fir Bhisigh.

In the footnote in *Ériu* xii 137 (referred to above) the handwriting in G 4 is described as being 'uneven, occasionally smaller and more compressed, at times freer' and partly 'in a more elegant script'. G 4 (see Plate VII), which is mainly by one hand, appears to provide an early example of the handwriting of our unnamed scribe. This same hand wrote most, if not all, of the Dindshenchas text in YBL cols. 401-36 (see Plate VIII); in fact, Bergin and Best's description of the handwriting in G 4 would also suit that of the YBL text of the Dindshenchas (cols. 401-36). In the latter text, however, we can see unmistakable signs of our unidentified scribe's more developed hand (as it appears in Lec.).

<sup>9</sup> Nine folios of Ó Cuirnín's text of LG (B-version), at the beginning of Lec. (as it now stands), have been lost. Ó Cuirnín's work at the front of Lec. (ff. 1-21v) may be of somewhat later date than his three pages (ff. 310v-11v) at the end of Gilla Ísa's text of LG.

<sup>10</sup> See Dillon (ed.), *Irish Sagas* (1959) 15-16.

Now the question of the identity of this scribe naturally arises. In three colophons (one in YBL, two in Lec.) Gilla Ísa refers to a son of his, apparently an only son. The earliest of these colophons is in YBL col. 851 (Fac. 160b51-2), in a part of the manuscript that is dated 1391<sup>11</sup>: *Oráit do Mac Fir Bisich do srib in lebarsa do fein 7 da mac na diaid. Finit.* The second colophon (datable by its reference to an event which occurred in 1397) is in Lec. f. 169a51-2: *Oráit do Mac Fhir Bisich do srib so do fen 7 da mac na diaid do deoin Dia n gemrad tar es Mic Donnchaid.*<sup>12</sup> The third relevant colophon, which is in Lec. 212d49-50 and which must be close in date to the previous one, reads: *Oráit do Mac Fir Bisig do srib in lebarsa do fein da mac 7 gebe ga mbia gabad egnairc in te ro srib.* We know from Gilla Ísa's line in the MacFirbis genealogy that he had a son named Tomás Cam.<sup>13</sup> The only other mention of Tomás Cam is found—amru céóil!—in an eighteenth-century manuscript fragment which is mainly a transcript, in Maurice O'Gorman's hand, of a colophon from a manuscript written by Tomás Cam himself in the year in which Tadhg Riabhach Ó Dubhda died (i.e. 1432). O'Gorman's transcript is preserved on a scrap of paper (now paged 227-8) in RIA MS. 23 D 16. It can safely be assumed that O'Gorman copied it from a manuscript written by Tomás Cam and that an extract (also in O'Gorman's hand) of six quatrains from *Imda gabhlán do chloinn Chuinn* entered on the first page of the fragment forming pp. 47-50 of 23 D 16 also came from Tomás Cam's manuscript. The relevant part of O'Gorman's transcript reads: 'Riamh nirsad opthaigh m ní.<sup>14</sup> *Oráit do Mac Fhirbhisig .i. do Thomas Cham mac Gilla Ísa Ithóir Mic Firisig do sgríbh an leabhursa an bliadhain testa Tadhg Riabhach O Dubhda ri O Fiachrach*'. O'Gorman (probably of his own accord) added (together with an English translation) a quatrain

<sup>11</sup> Gilla Ísa (col. 857, 48-52) gives his date of writing as being in the bissextile year 1391 (i.e. 1392; see Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, 100). Some writers state that Gilla Ísa died in 1418, which 'seems to be a matter of inference rather than of positive statement in any ancient authority' (Walsh, *op. cit.* 103). All we know is that he was alive in 1418 (when Ó Cuirnín wrote Lec. ff. 1-21v for him) and that his son was the Mac Fir Bhisigh when Tadhg Riabhach died (i.e. in 1432).

<sup>12</sup> See *Ériu* xxiv 76-7.

<sup>13</sup> See O'Donovan, *op. cit.* 407; Walsh, *op. cit.* 99.

<sup>14</sup> This line (which means 'they never refused (about) anything') had probably been used in Tomás Cam's manuscript. It seems to be a borrowing from a poem on the einstermen, beg. *Dia ngaba abgitir Lagen*; see *Ériu* vi 122 § 10 (reference given in RIA Contributions N-O-P 150, 11). Note the striking similarity between this statement concerning the hospitality of the O'Dowds and that made in the second clause in the analyst's glowing tribute to the memory of Ruaidrí Ó Dubhda, cited in n. 8. One of the qualities of Tadhg Riabhach, Ruaidhrí's successor, was his generosity. Under his rule, Gilla Ísa tells us in *Imda gabhlán do chloinn Chuinn*, Tír Fhiachrach prospered (common theme):

Re lind Taidg nár eitig fear,  
Ó Dubda do fuair áiream  
eithní chnó chubra na coll  
ní mó ubla na n-aball

(Lec. 75d46-7).

beginning *Mo chreach ón mo chreach*. The important information in the colophon preserved by O'Gorman is that Tomás Cam succeeded as Mac Fir Bhisigh sometime during Tadhg Riabhach's reign (1417–32) and also that he left written work. He was, of course, the Mac Fir Bhisigh by virtue of his office as *ollamh* to Ó Dubhda. The unnamed scribe who played such a big part in the writing of the Book of Lecan, and who inscribed (as one of the finest specimens of his hand) the poem composed by Gilla Ísa in 1417 for the new king of Tír Fhiachrach, can hardly have been other than Gilla Ísa's son and adhbhar ollamham Ó bhFiachrach.<sup>15</sup>

A few years ago when I was studying the hand of G 4 Professor James Carney drew my attention to the general likeness between its script and that of a fragmentary loose bifolium, marked 'I (Additional)', preserved in RIA MS. D i 1 (no. 1237); see Plate IX. Mr. William O'Sullivan, Keeper of Manuscripts in Trinity College Dublin, had, some time previously, established the unity of the hands in this fragment and in two fragments preserved in TCD MS. H. 2. 15a (no. 1316), 67–70, 97–104. In Mr. O'Sullivan's opinion all three fragments belonged to one manuscript and it is not, I believe, necessary to show an example of the script of the two fragments preserved in the TCD manuscript. The three fragments are fine specimens of the work of the anonymous scribe who, it can hardly be doubted, was Tomás Cam Mac Fir Bhisigh.<sup>16</sup>

My thanks are due to Professor Carney for the helpful suggestions referred to above, and to Mr. O'Sullivan for permitting me to make reference to the identity of hands in TCD MS. 1316, pp. 67–70, 97–104 and RIA MS. 1237, 'I (Additional)'. I also owe Mr. O'Sullivan a special word of thanks for his kindly interest in this study and for much helpful comment.<sup>17</sup> For permission to publish the plates I wish to make grateful acknowledgement to the Trustees of the

<sup>15</sup> The 'Dondehad Mac Fir Bisig, adbur ollaman Ua Fiachrach Muaide,' who died in 1414 (see *Ann. Conn.* 1414.14) may have been a senior person, possibly a brother of Gilla Ísa.

<sup>16</sup> The *probatio pennae* and other scribbling on D i 1, f. [1], inf. marg., are not from the scribal hand.

Some reader (hardly in Lecan) inserted a mark (caret) to indicate word-division in closely written parts of NLScot. 72.1.8 and G 4; see e.g. Plate II, b11 *uili da*, Plate VII, col. 980, 15 *ta ag*. The same hand inserted this mark in Gilla Ísa's manuscript in YBL, e.g. col. 904, 17, 19, 24, 25.

A later scribe, Aedh Óg, who added two short items at the end of G 4 (cols. 997–8) quite likely was Aedh Óg mac Ciothruaidh (who wrote a note in YBL, below cols. 380–1) mheic Thaidhg Ruaidh (who wrote his name in Lec., fo. 302) mheic Fhir Bhisigh mheic Thomáis Chaim mheic Ghilla Ísa (the well-known scribe).

<sup>17</sup> I should like to add that Mr. O'Sullivan is of the opinion that NLScot. 72.1.8 'A' once formed part of the manuscript that constitutes YBL cols. 573–958 (i.e. Gilla Ísa's book).

ational Library of Scotland, the Board of Trinity College Dublin,  
the Trustees of the National Library of Ireland and to the President  
and Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

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## THE MacNEILL-O'BRIEN LAW

1. Every beginning student rapidly becomes aware of the workings of MacNeill's Law whether he likes it or not; for it is only by recognizing this that the *n*-stems assume a degree of simplicity and order. The facts are set forth in GOI 89 § 140: In brief, at the coda of unstressed syllables beginning with a sonant the alveolo-dental sonant (i.e. *l* or *n*) is always of the strong variety (= "delenited").

For a long time after I had learnt this rule it seemed to me, though indubitably true, somehow puzzlingly counter-intuitive. Our general experience with languages leads us to expect, if anything, some sort of slackening in articulation or acoustic power at the end of words; this should be especially true of a language where most of the prominence (stress, or whatever it was) was concentrated in the first (or post-proclitic) syllable, and where succeeding syllables suffered notable shrinkage in distinctive feature range. In such a framework it seems rather odd to claim that certain final sounds neutralized in favour of the stronger articulation, or variety. Yet that is what the orthography appears to tell us. Paradoxically, I think that the testimony of the orthography is upheld; we must simply interpret it correctly in order to avoid the apparent antinomy.

The account which follows is the interpretation which I have been teaching in classes for about a decade, slightly revised to incorporate what I have additionally learnt of phonological theory in the meantime. In the course of the later '50's I had the fortunate opportunity, in doing fieldwork for the survey of Scottish Gaelic dialects under the auspices of the University of Edinburgh, to work on two sharply different areas offering two spectacularly individual sets of phonological phenomena; it was of course a marvellous opportunity to become familiar at first hand with Scottish Gaelic . . . I also realized rapidly that these dialects were a veritable laboratory and museum of phonetic phenomena that would be hard to parallel elsewhere, both in and outside of Europe; some of these results were reported to the Linguistic Society of America and at other meetings in oral papers.

In working with these dialects in the field, even though I had read the pioneering work of Dieckhoff, of Borgstrøm, of Oftedal, a vivid impression rapidly crystallized of the rich number of old phonological distinctions which these retentive dialects harbour. In contrast with the marked decay in distinctions of word morphology in these dialects (with the notable exception of the conjugating prepositions), we find here a remarkable conservatism in phonological information. These are immediate impressions that one grasps easily

after just a couple of summers fieldwork—impressions of enormous variety, bizarre non-routine phonetics, yet conservation of very old contrasts. In the ensuing years, however, each time I turned back to Old Irish (and amid a rapidly changing theoretical linguistic climate) I became increasingly impressed by the degree to which my Scottish Gaelic field experience nourished, vivified and brought insights to my grasp of Old Irish grammar, particularly the phonetics and phonology which have always held a strong interest for me. This has not led, I claim, to an antiquarian imagining of things; it has led me to see connections where formerly they passed unnoticed.

I present this bit of autobiography for several reasons: I am convinced that we must treat ancient languages as spoken languages (even when we know they are literary or literate creations, as with Classical Latin or Sanskrit) and that they are best understood in proportion as we may draw on modern spoken observations. Likewise we understand a modern language much better if, in addition to careful contemporary observations, we know where it has come from. The best synchrony can be carried on only in such a diachronic dialogue. We can make such observations only through the medium of a tenable theory; and such a theory is continuously subject to check by these observations. In such zig-zag fashion is progress made. Thus, for example, direct phonetic observation can make an immediate contribution to our grasp of an ancient language, particularly when with proper control a descendant of this language may be so observed; likewise the phonetics of an ancient language may offer an independent contribution to the development of theory. Finally, if we probe into the ancient phonetics sufficiently we may hope to discover fresh relations and to see new justifications for orthographic practice that is really very systematic and by no means beset with the vagaries that only an uncritical and careless view would attribute to it.

It is likely, from what we know of languages in general and from what I understand of Scottish Gaelic in particular, that all varieties of Gaelic share nearly the same set of underlying distinctive features for a closely similar inventory of systematic phonological segments. Where dialects and varieties differ it is in the "later" rules that yield the surface phonetic shapes; but many such a later rule, and the phonetic feature(s) that it assigns, bears crucial information or clues for the correct assignment by a speaker/hearer of a segment to the desired distinctive feature.<sup>1</sup> If there is no change in the phonetic

<sup>1</sup> An interesting case of this sort in Scottish Gaelic, which I presented to the Linguistic Society of America in December 1957, is that of the strikingly different realization (= phonetic output) in Argyll and in Reay Country Gaelic of the svarabhakti syllables. Because in Reay (like most other) Gaelic the difference between svarabhakti and disyllabic sequences is one of intonational contour and prominence, the disyllabic

structure of relevant adjacent segments it is reasonable to suppose that these "later" phonetic rules and the features they assign may persist over long centuries; that is what I here presume for some varieties of Scottish Gaelic in relation to Old Irish. Diachronically, a change in the phonetic delivery or appreciation of a given segment may result in the alteration of perceived scope of application of a late rule, and consequently in an alteration of assignment to the segment of an underlying distinctive feature.

The late-rule feature distribution which I present below holds true in fair part for perhaps all varieties of Scottish Gaelic, except for those varieties (and similarly developed Irish dialects) where the opposition of strong and weak sonants has been totally lost. However, the variety which I have particularly in mind, for which all the specifications provided below apply, and which shows precisely and in full force the feature distinction shown for word-final position (which is the focus of our discussion for Old Irish) is that of Islay, Gigha and most of Jura,<sup>2</sup> in South Argyll. In this variety of Gaelic short vowels are not diphthongized or lengthened in position before historic or underlying syllable-coda strong sonants; the situation in this respect with regard to late rules (and the features they assign) must be much the same in South Argyll as it was in Old Irish.<sup>3</sup> Indeed

sequence (*aran* 'bread') is heard as an abrupt but smooth fall in power. In South Argyll (southern Mull and south), per contra, the immediate posttonic syllable boundary which does not contain a tense consonant (the latter also being excluded largely in *svarabhakti*), i.e. contains a lax or no consonant at all ("hiatus"), is marked by a glottal stop [ʔ] which is inserted by rule. Therefore in South Argyll a *svarabhakti* sequence shows a smooth (normally abrupt) fall in power, uninterrupted by a glottal stop (because underlyingly there is of course no syllable boundary at this point). Thus in South Argyll underlying *tarr* 'bull' sounds like Reay *aran*; the structures match in the two dialects, but the late rules are different, producing a superficially bewildering overlap. The reason that this difference is not disastrous for inter-dialect communication, of course, is because speakers do not listen just to phonetics; but this great difference in late rule is one of the main regional signals to a native speaker, as I have been able to verify in the field by provoking colloquial and unsophisticated responses.

The report which I presented to the LSA, couched as it was in a different framework of taxonomic phonemics, assigned these like and contrasting phonetic manifestations as allophones to different phonemes and phoneme sequences (of, however, identically matching sets) in the two dialects. My object at the time, inter alia, was to show that overlapping allophones did exist and that overall patterns, as sometimes then understood, led to misanalysis. Times have changed and there is no need to harp on this point; I present elsewhere a view of some consequences of my changed analysis of Scottish Gaelic since the time when I was doing intensive dialect fieldwork in Scotland. But the stark difference in phonetic rules of these two Gaelic dialects remains a fascinating case.

<sup>2</sup> In my fieldwork I was immediately struck by the obvious fact that the north end of the island (Ardlussa) belonged not with the rest of the island (Lagg and south) but with eastern Mull. I was consequently gratified when in the course of conversation the laird of that portion of Jura casually volunteered that the line which had inherited that property traced its ancestry some generations back to the region of Loch Buidhe in eastern Mull.

<sup>3</sup> There is an interesting riddle of Bàrtoli dialectological theory here. Islay (and parts of Donegal) lie near the middle of the spectrum of dialects, or dialect-chain, that runs from Kerry to Cape Wrath, and once ran from the landfall off St. David's Head to the whole borderland of Caithness. Therefore we might look for Islay to belong to the innovating centre from the point of view of radiation of change over the speech area. Instead, but for the loss of syllabic nasalization (which looks like a recent diffusion from



the range of surface phonetic distinctions presented by Islay Gaelic for the sonants (*r* excluded) is both remarkable from a general phonetic point of view and in part astonishingly conservative from an historic one; I have remarked on this phenomenon in the course of my discussion of laterals, *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* (Prague 1967) 1970, 415-18.

The reader will note that the features and contexts discussed below do not agree in some important respects with what is presented by Henry Rogers in his analysis (much of which I do agree with) of the initial mutations, *Studia Celtica* 7, 1972, 63-85, esp. 64-6, 71-2. I think no one would yet claim that all problems of the basic phonology of Scottish Gaelic and of general phonological theory are now solved; it is reasonable that we should disagree in part, and some of the following may well go back to questions of principle. But there are three main reasons for our differences in presentation: Rogers is occupied with a different variety of Gaelic from mine, one which notably lacks some distinctions (esp. in the nasal; see 71) in the sonants. Secondly, he is concerned with the initial mutations, while I am occupied with all major word positions and particularly with word final. Thirdly, he is (§ 1.3.1) principally concerned with specifying the more underlying segments, while my present task, as I have implied above, is to specify the features at play in the later rules.

For the distribution of the sonants in Islay we distinguish three main positions: word-initial, medial, and final. Although in each case the strong and weak varieties are to be distinguished by at least one underlying distinctive feature (which should preferably be a single same feature for each pair of strong and weak if this terminology is to mean anything), the same feature does not surface in each position of the word as the principal audible or consistently pronounced mark of distinction for the pair of sonants. It should also be noted that in Rogers's account (65) the *r*'s but not the *l*'s are distinguished by tenseness, the consistent features of distinction being [back] and [high]. In Islay (and South Argyll generally) there can be no question that the most obvious single essential distinctive feature which sets the sonants off into pairs is tenseness; otherwise we should have no way of predicting the insertion of the noteworthy glottal stop which has been alluded to as a mark of syllable boundary

(the south), Islay gives the strong impression of a conservative "lateral area". It might seem then that a number of the features that characterize Scottish Gaelic were developing farther to the south in Ireland at an early time when Islay and Iona were still near the periphery; these then got carried farther to the north, where they subsequently became fossilized because the North was now a new periphery. The last seems surely to be the case with the notable lack of preaspiration of the tense stops in Reay Country; the "Norse" style preaspiration must have radiated from some point(s) farther south, probably including Argyll.

in footnote 1 above. Additionally, it will be seen in the ensuing discussion that we shall want to distinguish the members of each pair by the feature [back]. However, my assignment of values for [back] will be seen to be the reverse of that of Rogers; this difference is not arbitrary. For Rogers the feature [back] characterizes the secondary articulatory feature of velarization (§ 1.3.1). For South Argyll this will not suffice, since both strong and weak laterals that are historically broad are velarized and in medial position between vowels both of these merge as the velarized weak *l* in contrast to the newly developed strong *l* which is also velarized. For the sonants my use of [back] refers to the position of tongue tip and blade, which are always retracted for the weak by comparison with the strong; this is particularly important and noteworthy for the slender nasals in Colonsay, which still distinguishes these for initial lenition, where weak (lenited) [ɲ] is retracted by comparison with strong [ɲ]. Furthermore, for the present, I am inclined to characterize the three weak laterals [*l l' l'*] in medial position (see my Prague paper above-mentioned) by the features [high] and [low].

We are now ready to outline the key features that surface in the three main positions of the word in the case of the sonants which distinguish them as phonologically *strong* or *weak*:

	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
<i>strong</i>	[tense voiced]	[tense long]	[voiced]
<i>weak</i>	[lax short]	[lax short]	[devoiced]

or somewhat more formally:

<i>strong</i>	[+ tense + voice]	[+ tense + length]	[+ voice]
<i>weak</i>	[- tense - length]	[- tense - length]	[- voice]

In initial position the weak member of the pair, while typically voiced, may also be devoiced, notably next to lenited *s* (*h*); but it must always be short in duration. In medial position, as everywhere for all sonants, these segments are underlyingly voiced; but here even the strong member may be somewhat devoiced next to a voiceless, e.g. before *t*. Note in passing, contrary to Thurneysen GOI 74 § 120, my field observations in South Argyll confirm David Greene's perceptive insight (*Celtica* 5, 1960, 105) by showing directly both the strong and the weak lateral in contrast before *t*.

And now let us note the crucial fact for our present argument: in final position it is only voicing that is criterial between the two series of sonants. That is to say, the strong member may get quite clipped and short, thereby losing any dependable length or duration; and at word-end it may be sufficiently relaxed to lose anything we may objectively call tenseness. The important thing when these features are neutralized phonetically is the voicing, and in this position the weak member is markedly devoiced.

This situation contrasts notably with the surface phonetics of the innovating Reay Country, where historic (and underlying) unstressed final vowels are lost totally. Here, however, an old non-final sonant (except for the palatal nasal) regardless of strength remains voiced, while an old final sonant appears regularly devoiced. One further remark: The situation with the sonants shows clearly that the correct feature for the stops is tenseness, and not voicing as it is e.g. in the Balkans); for it is seen that while the constant feature of the tense stops (*p t k*) is aspiration, if anything other than tenseness, that of the tense sonants tends to be voicing. To try to assign voice to the essentially voiceless stops would result in reversing his important feature in a totally irresponsible way.

Without going into further detail here on the full range of phonetic features assumed for each of the sonants (including the difficult *u*'s, on which I also have a theory) in all positions they were privileged to occupy, I propose that the features assigned by the later phonetic rules of Old Irish to the sonant segments were in the main as we have sketched above largely on the specific basis of South Argyll, but not, as I think, in conflict with the relevant reflexes in other relatively conservative dialects. Specifically, for the present argument, I assert that in final position these sonants in Old Irish were characterized by distinctive voicing: The strong were voiced, and the weak devoiced.

Now MacNeill's Law has to do with the appearance of STRONG sonants at the end of UNSTRESSED syllables opened by a SONANT. We have already pointed out that the sonant segments are underlyingly voiced; the voicing will of course regularly surface when the medial sonant is initial in the syllable, as is the case in a structure satisfying the conditions for MacNeill's Law. The syllable in question which satisfies these conditions is also to be unstressed. Within the phonetics of Old Irish this means that the vocalic timbre was considerably damped, unclear, and notably subject to modification by the neighbouring segments; this labile quality and extreme dependence on adjacent features is amply shown by the total neutralization of distinctiveness in the unstressed vowel between two consonants in Old Irish of the glosses, and by the apparent



strong invasion of such syllables by glides from and to the articulatory positions of the surrounding consonant segments. Under these conditions it is reasonable to look for an assimilatory "smear" of the nasal's or liquid's sonant quality across the syllable; in the terms just discussed, in view of the voicing inherent in the medial sonant at the initial of this syllable, such an assimilation is seen to be one of + voice. As a result of such an assimilation the final sonant in the syllable becomes voiced phonetically. And as we have argued above, a voiced sonant in final position in Old Irish was heard as belonging to the strong member of the series.

Therefore, MacNeill's Law does not have to do with any sort of puzzling "strengthening" in this position; it is simply, in phonetic terms, AN ASSIMILATION OF SONANT VOICING ACROSS A WEAK AND INDISTINCT VOWEL.

As a corollary, let us note explicitly that this formulation of MacNeill's Law rests upon the recognition that the distinctiveness between sonants in final position was realized as a correlation of voicing.

2. In a brief note, quite disproportionate in size to its importance, M. A. O'Brien (*Celtica* 3, 1956, 175) has observed a subtle regularity which in my opinion belongs with and supports the phenomenon just discussed and formulated. The very small number of forms affected and attested with this second phenomenon has no bearing on its value as testimony to the phonetics of Old Irish nor on its great importance as an indicator of a phonetic rule of considerable scope.

Probably the clearest and most familiar example of O'Brien's phenomenon is *sagart* < *sacardd*; other examples cited by O'Brien are *tuaisgeart* < *tuaiscerdd* and *deisgeart* < *descerdd*, apart from the name *Muircheart-ach* which O'Brien ingeniously derives from *muircherdd*. The regularity here is that in the coda of unstressed syllables *rd* became *rt*. We have, in other words, an apparent DEVOICING; but I think this is really just a part of the phenomenon we have already been discussing.

Basing ourselves once again on the phonetics of modern dialects, we will assume that in position before dental the Old Irish *r*, which was the strong variety (GOI § 120), was a non-trill retroflected sonant. From the preceding exposition we have seen that a medial sonant, when the strong variety, was [+ tense, + length]; underlyingly the sonants are (and were) [+ voice], and in medial position this would surface before *d*. The statements just made would apply to *rd* in cases where this instance of *r* qualified as *medial*. However in so far as *-rd* formed the coda of an unstressed syllable, the *r* would need

to be [+ voice] in order to qualify as strong, which the rules of Old Irish phonotactics required that it be before dental stop. In other words, *rd*, which was tense and long in its first segment, but only redundantly voiced, in other positions, was distinctively voiced in unstressed final.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, we may understand how the obligatory and distinctive [+ voice] that characterized *r* in such codas apparently "absorbed" the [+ voice] that earlier characterized the following *d*. That is to say, the voicing of the cluster came to be interpreted as the phonetic characteristic preeminently of the *r*. As a consequence the following stop was interpreted as *t* and not *d*.

O'Brien's phenomenon is therefore to be explained as a regularity within the same fact of Old Irish phonetic behaviour as that which explains MacNeill's Law. The two are corollaries of the more general Old Irish phonetic rule which we may formulate:

[+ sonant] → [α voice] / [+ stress] . . . [- stress] [α strong]

In terms of the features earlier suggested, this may be restated:

[+ sonant] → [α voice] / [+ stress] . . . [- stress] 

α tense
- α back

3. This phonetic behaviour may be seen, however, to be even more far-reaching in Old Irish and the facts of its orthography. I have stated as I see them the regularities of spirant voicing in final position in Old Irish, *Ériu* 24, 1973, 171-2. The rule which I did not formalize there might be attempted as follows (leaving room for an indeterminacy on insufficient evidence for the rounded velar):

+ obstruent
+ continuant

 → [α voice] / [+ stress] . . . [- stress] 

- α velar
-----------

 #<sup>5</sup>

It will be recalled that the voicing in this case is true of the output [β δ γ'] as opposed to [x].<sup>6</sup> This opposition may be characterized naturally in features as [- back] and [+ back] respectively. The last rule may be read equally, and in more generalized terms, with [- α back] in place of [- α velar].<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In this context, but as a discussion for another occasion, we must see the remarkable development of the intrusive sibilant in final *-rt* in Scottish Gaelic as an integral concomitant of the diphthongizations and lengthenings before final strong *l* and *n* and the consequent reduction of these latter to their weak correlatives.

<sup>5</sup> The form of this rule further tends to confirm that the continuants of Old Irish were characterized and distinguished in their surface manifestations not by tenseness but by voicing.

<sup>6</sup> It is convenient to note here that Kenneth Jackson calls my attention to his observation (*LHEB* §81) that after back vowels -3 (i.e. [γ]) had been lost in final position by the earliest records of Welsh, the Voc. Corn., and Old Breton. This fits nicely with my assumption of the weakness of spirancy in British [γ], *Ériu* 24, 170.

<sup>7</sup> Eli Fischer-Jørgensen, whom I thank heartily for her customary kindness and meticulous reading of this paper (whose faults of course remain my own), remarks

4. Combining the two rules which we have reached, one on the regularities observed by MacNeill and O'Brien and the other on the regularities of final spirant voicing, we arrive at the following phonetic generalization for Old Irish:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \langle + \text{sonant} \rangle \\ + \text{contin} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ voice}] / [+ \text{stress}] \dots [- \text{stress}] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \langle \alpha \text{ tense} \rangle \\ - \alpha \text{ back} \end{array} \right] (\#)^8$$

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Aberystwyth<sup>9</sup>*

(per litt.): "When the tongue is retracted, the space between vocal cords and the constriction is small, and the pressure rises quickly, so that the difference in pressure between the cavity below and above the vocal cords, which is a necessary prerequisite for voicing, is not retained very long . . . . It also appears that the vowel  $\alpha$ , which has a pharyngeal constriction, hampers voicing of the following consonant." Several facts here fall phonetically into place: the voiceless velar, devoicing after low (i.e. "broad") vocalism, and the rarity (e.g. on the Northwest Coast of the U.S. and British Columbia) of a voiced uvular obstruent.

<sup>8</sup> I would note, however, that Eli Fischer-Jørgensen cannot see a phonetic motivation for a like behaviour of [back] in the sense of "retroflex" for *l* and *n*. We therefore need, it seems to me, a thorough exploration of the tongue positions involved in the articulation of Scottish Gaelic and northerly Irish laterals and nasals.

<sup>9</sup> I wish to acknowledge here the opportunity for quiet reflexion on many problems that currently occupy me given by the tenure of a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship 1973-74, a blissful opportunity that has made possible results in many more directions than I could originally have foreseen.



## NOTES ON 'CASE' AND WORD-BOUNDARIES\*

IN his "Notes on Gaelic Grammar"<sup>1</sup>, Professor Borgstrøm has proposed a new approach to Gaelic<sup>2</sup> word-boundaries on the basis of which there would be "some thirteen cases, each characterized by a prefix"<sup>3</sup> and the language "would have to be classified as a (mildly) polysynthetic language"<sup>4</sup>. His proposal has had a rather mixed reception<sup>5</sup>; in these notes I wish to point out that the idea of regarding prepositions as case prefixes has been employed in the earliest known attempt to write a grammar of Irish. Also, the boundaries involved will be discussed from various points of view.

In the *Auraicept na nÉces*<sup>6</sup>, several paradigms<sup>7</sup> are found comprising prepositional and other phrases, as well as nouns in the nominative, accusative and genitive, each case being given a separate name. The prepositions thus described and the names<sup>8</sup> of the cases are as follows:

*air* 'before, for' (with acc.): *airchellad* 'taking away', "defensive"<sup>9</sup> 1886; *airchill* 'preparing for', "defensive" 1518; 1651; 4740; 4829.

*air* 'before, for' (with dat.): *fresgabál* 'rising, ascending', "ascensive" 1527; 1662, 3; 1789; 1886; 4983, 4.

*co* 'to, till': *ascnam* 'giving towards' "advancive" 1519; 1651; 1777; 1882, 3; 4741, 2; 4977.

*de* 'of, from': *digbál* 'taking away', "privative" 1525; 1662; 1887, 8.

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<sup>1</sup> in *Celtic Studies. Essays in Memory of Angus Matheson*, edited by Carney and Greene, London 1968, 12-21.

<sup>2</sup> Similar approaches have been worked out by Sommerfelt for the dialect of Torr, Co. Donegal in "Word Limits in Modern Irish" *Lochlann* 3 (1965) 298-314, and for Breton by Ternes in *Grammaire Structurale du breton de l'Île de Groix*, Heidelberg 1970, but neither went as far as to suggest that prepositions should be regarded as case-prefixes.

<sup>3</sup> *art. cit.* 16.

<sup>4</sup> *art. cit.* 21.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. reviews by Dillon *Celtica* 9 (1971) 338-9 and D. MacAulay *ScoGS* 12 (1971) 112, who both reject the proposal; P. Mac Cana *Éigse* 15 (1973) 65 who mentions it and M. Oftedal (in T. Sebeok, ed., *Current Trends in Linguistics* IX, The Hague 1972, 1206-8), who states (referring also to Sommerfelt's article) that "there is hardly any reason for doubting the results arrived at are valid for all modern dialects of the Goidelic languages, especially as the same or very similar word boundaries are found in Old and Middle Irish."

<sup>6</sup> Edited by G. Calder, Edinburgh 1917.

<sup>7</sup> 1515 ff.; 1651 ff.; 1770 ff.; 1830 ff.; 1859 ff.; 4829 ff.; 4971 ff.; 5020 ff.; 5039 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Spelling and basic meaning (in single quotes) are from *DRIA*. The grammatical terms (in double quotes) were coined by Calder; in some cases it might be tempting to try to improve on these. The numbers refer to lines in the *Auraicept*, where a prepositional phrase in a paradigm is named. Additional references will be found in Calder's "Glossarial Index".

<sup>9</sup> The "Glossarial Index" gives "abreptive".

*do* 'to': *rath* 'bestowing', "dative" 1772; 1880; *dánad* 'giving, distributing', "dative" 1524; 1531, 2; 4741; 4973.

*fo* 'under': *fothad* 'founding, establishing', "fundative" 1524; 1661, 2; 1786; 1885; 4982.

*for* 'on, over': *fortud* 'the case formed by the prep. *for* with a noun', "invocative(?)" 1522; 1652; 1784; 1884, 5; 4981.

*fri* 'against': *freslige* 'lying down, beside', "desidative" 1523; 1652, 3; 1791; 4985.

*iar* 'after': *tiarmóracht* 'following, pursuing', "progenitive" 1525; 1662.

*im* 'about, mutually': *imthimchell* 'surrounding, encircling', "circum-dative" 1526; 1653; 1887.

*i* 'in, into' (with acc.): *inotacht* 'entering', "ingressive" 1520; 1651, 2; 1782; 1884.

*i* 'in' (with dat.): *attrab* 'dwelling in', "locative" 1518; 1661; 1783; 1884.

*la* 'with, among': *taebtu* 'state of being side by side with', "comitative" 1526, 1653.

*ó* 'from, by': *fochsal* 'taking away', "ablative" 1522; 1661; 1882; 4741.

*oc* 'at': *fuirmiud* 'setting, depositing', "depositive" 1521; 1661; 1776; 1882; 4976, 7.

*re* 'before': *remiud*<sup>10</sup> "adversative" 1529; 1663.

*sech* 'past, beyond': *sechmall* 'passing by', "neglective" 1521; 1652; 1778, 9; 1883; 4978.

*tar* 'across, over': *tairsce* 'trespassing', "trespassive" 1527; 1653, 4; 1787; 1885; 4983.

*tre* 'through': *tregtad* 'piercing', "perforative" 1528; 1654; 1780; 1883, 4.

Apart from various miscellaneous forms, mostly dealing with derivation, that were appended to some of these paradigms, six more "cases" may be distinguished:

1. *ainmniugud*<sup>11</sup> 'naming', "nominative" 1517; 1530; 1880; *ainm-nid*<sup>12</sup> 'nominative' 1770.

2. *inchosc* 'signifying, indicating, denoting', "accusative" 1519; 1531; 1773; 1881; 1891.<sup>13</sup>

3. *togairm* 'calling', "vocative" 1520; 1774; 1881; 4741.

<sup>10</sup> Apparently not in *DRIA*.

<sup>11</sup> This term belongs to the *Auraicept*.

<sup>12</sup> This term is also found in the glosses.

<sup>13</sup> Since all instances (apart from the mysterious 1531 *ac feraib* 'at men') show *in fer* ('the man') or (1773) *inna firu* ('the men'), it could be argued from 799 *Reim as 7 ind malle, ut est, in fer .i. a ainmniugud 7 a inchosc ann malle* 'Declension out of it and into it together' *ut est, in fer* i.e. its nominative and accusative are there together' that this term in fact refers to the definite, internal *réim* denoting the nominative case-form and external *réim* the article in much the same way (cf. below) as *delb filltech* 'inflected form' contrasts with *filliud* 'case'.

4. *selbad* 'possessing' "possessive" 1517; 1531, 6; 1543; 1771; 1880; 1892; 4740; 4972; *tuistid*<sup>14</sup> 'parent', "parentative" 1523; 1670; 1889.  
5. *tuarascbáil*<sup>15</sup> 'account, description', "descriptive" 1529; 1530; 1655; 1889; 1891; 4747.

6. *frecmarc*<sup>16</sup> 'inquiring of', "interrogative" 1886, 7.

The first point that needs to be made here is that most<sup>17</sup> of these terms are verbal nouns. This is a major departure from the Latin (translated from Greek) deverbal adjectives that underlie the terminology used in most European languages; with two exceptions (*taebtu* and *tuistid*) the terms found only in the *Auraicept* seem to be verbal nouns.

Secondly, it is clear that the system was never complete. Some prepositions, notably *a* 'out of' are missing. The distinction between singular and plural is discussed<sup>18</sup>, but on the other hand most examples found are given without the article, though there may be some sort of attempt to define it<sup>19</sup>.

Thirdly, there is a passage (1637ff; 4726ff.) which contains what looks like an attempt to describe the distinction between two types of case: the former (*filliud*, *filltiugud* 'inflection, case') involves prepositional and other syntactically significant phrases and the latter, which corresponds to the accepted sense of "case" in Irish, comprises the *de(a)lba filltecha*<sup>20</sup> ('inflected forms'), "three of them in the singular, three of them in the plural"<sup>21</sup>. This is to say, the prepositional (etc.) cases are grouped in three different categories, according to which flectional cases they take or as the *Auraicept* puts it: *In da filliud deg dibh tiaghait i forgnuis ainmneda ⁊ ainseda*<sup>22</sup> take in a paradigm of *fer* ('man' in the nom. and acc.) after various prepositions and the copula; *Na secht filltigh immorro tiaghait i forgnuis obartadha ⁊ foxlada*<sup>23</sup> consist of *fiur* ('man' in the dat.) after various

<sup>14</sup> This seems to apply only to those genitives that have an article. Perhaps an attempt is merely being made to make up for the lack of some other prefix.

<sup>15</sup> 1529 and 1655 show *is fer*, which is clear enough and 1889 *in fer*, where the text goes on to state: *is inunn a tuarascbail ⁊ a inchos* ('its descriptive is the same as its accusative'). This might be interpreted to imply that the "descriptive" here is *fer* with the interrogative *in* + copula and that it happens to look the same as the "accusative" *fer* with the definite article *in*. Or perhaps the identificatory function of the article was somehow confused with the "descriptive" use of the copula. In any case this way of treating the copula as a morphological prefix may, as I have tried to show (*Éigse* 14 (1972), 269-274), be compatible with some trends in modern linguistics.

<sup>16</sup> Accepting Thurneysen's emendation ("Auraicept na n-éces" *ZCPH* 17 (1928) 87) of *frecnarc*. The example given is *cia fer* 'which man?'.  
<sup>17</sup> *fortud* and *remiud* have verbal noun suffixes (Cf. Thurn. *Gramm.* 446) but seem joined *ad hoc*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. 1530-2; 1642 ff.; 1770 ff.  
<sup>19</sup> Cf. notes 13 and 14 above.

<sup>20</sup> In the following passages, *forgniis* 'form' seems to be used in much the same sense as *delb*. Both words are found as grammatical terms in the glosses.

<sup>21</sup> 1641-2.

<sup>22</sup> 1643-4 'The twelve cases of them that go into the form of nominative and accusative'.

<sup>23</sup> 1660-1 'The seven cases, however, that go into the form of dative and ablative'.



prepositions and *Oenfills tech immorro teit i forgnuis togarthada 7 genilli*<sup>24</sup>, finally, is said to be in *fhír* 'of the man' and is called as in 1523 and 1883, *tuistid*. There are some other inconsistencies<sup>25</sup>, but two things seem significant about this passage. Firstly, only *fochsal* and *ainmnid* are found as names (the latter only once) of prepositional (etc.) paradigms. Secondly, *ainmnid*, *dinsid*, *genitil*, *tabarthaid* and *togarthis* are found as grammatical terms in the glosses, where they are used to describe inflectional cases in Latin. It seems not unlikely that they were taken over for the same purpose in the *Auraicept*; one might also draw this conclusion from the fact that there are six of these terms, rearranged as they were in three groups of two each to fit the *Auraicept* conception of Irish as a language with three inflectional forms of nouns.

It should be stressed that the above material represents only parts of the *Auraicept* that are of immediate relevance to the question outlined in Borgström's paper<sup>26</sup>.

The origin of the system has been discussed by Calder<sup>27</sup> and by Thurneysen<sup>28</sup>, who makes it clear that a Latin foundation had been used to form a rather original grammatical framework. He points out that contemporary Latin scholars<sup>29</sup> in their paradigms give the ablative with *ab* and the vocative with *o* and that extending the system to include all (or at any rate most) prepositions shows "der Ire" to be "konsequenter als andere europäische Grammatiker des Mittelalters". Our manuscripts are all fairly late<sup>30</sup>, but on the basis of the accusative in *mbein* ('the woman') in 1835 Thurneysen proposes<sup>31</sup> the early eighth century as a possible date. Note that as this is included in one of the paradigms under discussion, it supports the hypothesis that at least one of these was included in the original redaction.

<sup>24</sup> 'One case, however, goes into the form of vocative and genitive'. Needless to say, this does not agree with the paradigms, unless it is meant that the vocative does not belong as a syntactic entity in a sentence.

<sup>25</sup> For instance, in 1648 the three singular forms are given as *fer*, *fir*, *ic fir* ('a man, of a man, at a man') which suits the description, but the plural ones as *na fer*, *na fir*, *na firu* ('of the men, the men (nom.), the men (acc.)').

<sup>26</sup> For instance, from the paradigm in 1770-1807 (4971-4993) it would not at all be clear that the contents show any awareness of the distinction between inflection and derivation, including as they do instances (1797; 1989-90) like *sofer a shaerugud* 'sofer its ennobling' and *dofer a dhaerugud* 'dofer its enslaving'. On the other hand the paradigms in 1517-1532 and 1880-1892 lack these. Given Thurneysen's view (*art.cit.* 286) that the last-mentioned "dürfte dem Ursprünglichen am nächsten stehen", it is probably not unreasonable to assume that these were not part of the original redaction, which (according to Professor Ó Cuív, *TPhS* 1965 (1966) 159) was not very long, perhaps some 200 lines.

<sup>27</sup> *Auraic*. Introduction *passim* and especially pp. xlvii-xlviii.

<sup>28</sup> *Art. cit.* 286-7.

<sup>29</sup> Malsachanus put it as follows: "Casus nominum quot sunt? VI: nominatiuus, ut *hic scriba*; genetiuius *huius scribae*; datiuus *huic scribae*; accusatiuus *hunc scribam*; uocatiuus *o scriba*; ablatiuus *ab hoc scriba*." (B. Löfstedt, *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus*, Upsala 1965, 174.31-3; the italics are mine).

<sup>30</sup> *Auraic*. p. xiii.

<sup>31</sup> *Art. cit.* 287.

At this point one may try to draw a few tentative conclusions<sup>32</sup>. First of all, on the basis of the material at hand, it would seem that the redactor of the *Auraicept* devised his grammatical framework because he felt that it suited the language, not because his framework fitted any preconceived scholarly ideas of what a grammar ought to look like. In the latter case one would have expected the number of cases quoted to be the same as in Latin, as in so many other early grammars of vernacular languages. Also, note that the terminology proper to the description of the prepositional (etc.) paradigms in the *Auraicept* itself is native and shows a marked departure from that used in Latin and (e.g. in the glosses) about it.

Secondly, this treatment of prepositions and similar elements as case prefixes suits the division of words used in the manuscripts, where "in general all words which are grouped round a single chief stress and have a close syntactic connexion with each other are written as one in the manuscripts."<sup>33</sup> If Borgstrøm<sup>34</sup> is right in assuming that "the phonological part of this rule ('grouped round a single stress') is probably less important than the grammatical one ('a close syntactic connection')" one must clearly conclude that in early Irish writing practice syntactic units, i.e. groups functioning as predicate (verbal or nominal), subject, object or adverbial, were felt to be more worthy of being separated from each other by word-boundaries, in other words of forming graphemic "words", than the elements they were made up of. From this it would have been a natural step to consider any alternation inside such a unit as a change within a paradigm, in this instance, prepositions and the copula alternating with "true" cases in the Latin (but not e.g. Finnish or Hungarian) sense like the nominative and accusative, as long as these also gave a noun the status of a syntactic constituent. It is of course significant that in no prepositional (etc.) paradigm is the case that is now known as the dative found without a preposition. Note that this perhaps tells us something about the use of the "free dative" in contemporary Irish. The genitive, on the other hand, is found in them and thus forms an exception to the rule that *Auraicept* "cases" belong to independent syntactic units. A

<sup>32</sup> Anything more definitive presupposes two things that are unfortunately still lacking: firstly an analysis of precisely what belongs to the original core of the *Auraicept* and secondly a study of exactly how word-boundaries were written in Old and Middle Irish manuscripts.

<sup>33</sup> Thurn. *Gramm.* § 34.

<sup>34</sup> *Art. cit.* 18. Cf. E. Lewy, "Kurze Beschreibung des Altirischen" *Fs. Pokorny* = *BK* 13 (1967) 217 who states very categorically: "Das Altirische wird in Gruppen von Worten geschrieben. Diese Art zu schreiben kann aus keiner anderen Zivilisation angeführt sein, weil sie sich nirgendwo findet, muss also auf der genaueren Beobachtung der gesprochenen Sprache beruhen." In his review of this article Oftedal (*Lochlann* 4 (1969) 366) agrees and compares it to the situation in spoken Modern French. Cf. also the last article mentioned in note 5 above.

modern linguist trying to write a grammar of Irish in a strict formal description according to these principles would probably be able to find some way<sup>35</sup> past this detail, which the redactor of the *Auraicept* may not even have noticed.

The Bardic model for describing nominal inflection has been described by Bergin<sup>36</sup>. Here the paradigm only serves to show mutations in the noun itself<sup>37</sup>. The following main terms occur<sup>38</sup>: *agalluimh* 'vocative'; *ainm* 'nominative'; *réim*<sup>39</sup> 'oblique case, especially accusative' and *tochlughadh* 'accusative plural'. These differ from the terms used in the *Auraicept* but still have the noteworthy feature in common with them that (except for *ainm*) they are verbal nouns<sup>40</sup>.

It is of course quite clear that Bardic terminology refers to nominal inflection proper, not to the use of prepositions etc. By this time, the system of word-division in writing was changing, and judging from a few samples of early printed Irish, the present system of writing most proclitics separate from their head-words had more or less established itself.<sup>41</sup> Also, whereas prepositions still normally remain unstressed<sup>42</sup>, the "well-known-tendency to substitute the 3rd sg. masc. preposition for the simple preposition"<sup>43</sup> made some of the prenominal forms identical with the stressed forms used independently. Thus it is not impossible that their existence as separate words was easier to recognise. On the other hand, a preposition in Irish is still much more closely bound to its head-noun than for instance in English, since it never occurs either without a noun or not incorporated with a pronoun. Also, it is normally, at least from Middle Irish onwards, repeated before a noun in apposition<sup>44</sup>. Unlike

<sup>35</sup> For instance, a noun phrase consisting of a head-noun and another noun in the genitive might by some transformationalists be analysed as the end-result of a process involving the deletion of a relative clause in which a noun in the genitive would have an underlying function as a syntactic entity of its own. Also, the boundary between a genitive and its head-noun would, in most sorts of linguistic description, be on the same level as that between a noun and, as its complement, a prepositional phrase that can occur as a syntactic entity if complementing a verb.

<sup>36</sup> "The Native Irish Grammarian" *PBA* 24 (1938) 209-10.

<sup>37</sup> But note that examples are still given with enough syntactic context for them to make sense as syntactic entities, as e.g. in *IGT* § 65 (*Ériu* 9 (1923) Suppl. 114): *fear, d'fir, mac fir, d'fearaib, meic fear, meall fira* 'man, to a man, son of a man, to men, sons of men, deceive men!'

<sup>38</sup> *IGT* p. iv (*Ériu* 8 (1915) Suppl. p. iv); Ó Cuív, *art. cit.* 152; G. B. Adams, "Grammatical Analysis and Terminology in the Irish Bardic Tracts" *Fol* 4 (1970) 163.

<sup>39</sup> *táobhréim* specifies the genitive and *tuilréim* the dative. In the *Auraicept* *réim* seems to mean inflection rather more generally. Cf. note 13 above.

<sup>40</sup> Note, however, that (as W. Gillies has pointed out to me) in common with some verbal nouns, it is a neuter *n*-stem in *\*-men*. This may be the reason why another verbal noun suffix was not felt to be needed.

<sup>41</sup> E. G. Lynam, *The Irish Character in Print*, Dublin 2 1969 and O'Rahilly's Introduction to *Desid.* p. xlv.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. note 55 below, however.

<sup>43</sup> O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present* Dublin, Belfast, Cork and Waterford 1932, 226.

<sup>44</sup> J. Gagnepain; *La Syntaxe du Nom verbal dans les langues celtiques I. Irlandais* Paris 1963, 216.



what is the case in Modern Irish, which has retained spellings incorporating unstressed prefixes such as *a* in words like /ə<sup>1</sup>Noxt/ *anocht* 'tonight' or /ə<sup>1</sup>Norə/ *anuraidh* 'last year', present-day Scottish Gaelic spelling makes word boundaries signal that the following syllable is stressed<sup>45</sup> if it belongs to a word that normally can take the stress. In this connection it is perhaps relevant to note that the Scottish Gaelic equivalents of the Irish words mentioned, i.e. *a nochd* and *an uiridh* follow rather stricter syllable-division rules than seem to apply in Irish<sup>46</sup>, as the separate pronunciations in Lewis) /ə<sup>1</sup>Noxg/ and /ə<sup>1</sup>Nduri/ show<sup>47</sup>. In both these words, the spelling shows that /ə/ (if pronounced) is pretonic; in the former *n-* shows that the stressed syllable begins with *n-*, whereas in the latter *an* (causing a prevocalic mutation) shows that it begins with a vowel<sup>48</sup>. Note the economy in graphic symbols.

So far the discussion of word-boundaries has been mainly on the grammatical and graphemic level, where linguistic data are shown in a much simplified abstract form. An exact definition of the notion 'word' as a linguistic universal that would hold for all languages is a very difficult task, involving as it would, in a number of schools of linguistic theory, defining the level at which the line should be drawn between morphology and syntax.<sup>49</sup> A few points made in some previous discussions of the problem may be mentioned. First, we might try Bloomfield's<sup>50</sup> well-known definitions that "a word is a *minimum free form*" and <sup>51</sup> "A linguistic form which is never spoken alone is a *bound form*; all others . . . are *free forms*". Accordingly, Irish prepositions,<sup>52</sup> which never occur alone, would have to be classified as prefixes and written together with their head-noun. Using Pike's<sup>53</sup> "methodology for reducing languages to writing" they

<sup>45</sup> The not numerous exceptions are probably all fairly recent loanwords.

<sup>46</sup> As Professor Jackson points out to me, it is interesting to note that in Bardic poetry words like *anocht* may alliterate either with a word in *n-* or one in a vowel, i.e., the first syllable being pretonic, it behaves as if the syllable boundary could be *a-nV* or *n-V* at will. This is illustrated in *Aithd. D.* nr 69 § 20 *do-ghéabhthaoi é a-nocht ar camh / ar dtocht an-é don aingeal* 'ye may attain this desire some time in Heaven, the angel (of death) having come the night before'.

<sup>47</sup> Oftedal, *The Gaelic of Leurbost* (NTS Suppl. 4) Oslo 1956, 217.

<sup>48</sup> *op. cit.* 170. In this dialect the prevocalic mutation has the effect of making /Nd-/ in *an uiridh* identical with /lNd-/ in *an dràsda* 'just now'. But this is by no means in all dialects. In Argyllshire, for instance, one finds /e n-/ both in *an uiridh* (Holmer, *udies in Argyllshire Gaelic*, Upsala 1938, 247) and *a nochd* (*op. cit.* 160), but /en d'-/ in *an* (*op. cit.* 151). Finally Barra seems to keep all three apart. Cf. Borgström, "The Dialect Barra" NTS 8 (1937) 84 (*a nochd*); 237 (*an uiridh*); 153 (*an dràsda*). It is not inconceivable that distinctions such as these have played a role in the establishment of Scottish Gaelic spelling conventions.

<sup>49</sup> See e.g. Lyons *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, Cambridge 1968, 194 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Language*, New York 1933, 178.

<sup>51</sup> *op. cit.* 160.

<sup>52</sup> By prepositions I here of course mean the simple ones. Cf. Marie-Louise Sjøestedt-nval, *Description d'un Parler irlandais de Kerry*, Paris 1938, 91.

<sup>53</sup> *Phonemics*, Ann Arbor 1947 (repr. 1963) p. vii.

would be classified as "clitics"<sup>54</sup> and written hyphenated to their head-noun. Sommerfelt's analysis<sup>55</sup> of prepositions as prefixes is based on Greenberg's insertability test, where "a nucleus boundary is an infra-word boundary if there is a maximum to the number of nuclei that can be inserted. Often this maximum is zero, that is, nothing can be inserted. It is a boundary between words in the other instances, that is, where there is no maximum to the number of insertions of nuclei, if there is "infinite" insertion."<sup>56</sup> It is claimed that this procedure "resolves the contradiction between phonological and grammatical definitions of the word."<sup>57</sup> In Ternes's structuralist description of a Breton dialect, "les prépositions flexionnelles simples se comportent comme des préfixes nominaux."<sup>58</sup> Again, the main argument is that between preposition and noun, only a limited number of specifiable elements may be intercalated, just as in Borgstrøm's analysis, where these elements are specified "as belonging to classes with limited membership" such as (in our case) the articles, numerals, the copula and preposed adjectives, which form a compound with the noun they qualify.<sup>59</sup>

Turning finally to transformational theory for any further enlightenment, one finds that the whole question is not considered very relevant, involving as it does a fairly minor component of the theoretical framework. It may be significant that with one exception known to me<sup>60</sup>, work dealing with Irish or Scottish Gaelic in a transformational model seems not even to consider explicit departures from the word-boundaries of standard orthography.

<sup>54</sup> *op. cit.* 165-6; 238.

<sup>55</sup> *op. cit.* 301; 304-7. He notes the important point that "stress is no sure guide. It is true that a great number of the elements of the sentence may have primary stress in certain positions and secondary stress in others, but certain elements are always unstressed and must all the same be regarded as words. It would be unreasonable not to regard *agas*, sometimes reduced to *as* and even to *s*, used as freely as the English *and*, as a word." There are even cases where simple prepositions take the stress, e.g. for metrical reasons (as the Editor points out to me, supplying the example) in *Cúirt* 45: *Ghlacfaínn gur saor í féna cionta* 'I would agree that she is free from her sins', where *saor* goes with *saor*. This is found more regularly in at least one dialect, about which Oftedal (*op. cit.* 1956, 33) comments: "one of the most characteristic features of Luleå accentuation is its extremely frequent stressing of prepositions. I find this phenomenon remarkable enough for deserving particular attention." On the other hand, as in other dialects, there is no evidence in Leurbot of the simple preposition being used as a free form, i.e. not combined with a noun or a pronoun as in *op. cit.* 265, text 1.17-8 *tha mi mar bha mi roimhe* 'I am as I was before' (literally 'before it'; the form used before nouns is *roimh*; cf. *op. cit.* 221).

<sup>56</sup> *Essays in Linguistics*, Chicago 1957, 30.

<sup>57</sup> *op. cit.* 31.

<sup>58</sup> *op. cit.* 310. He also makes the important point (45): "la division graphique de la phrase en mots ne saurait guère être justifiée si ce n'était en vue d'une plus grande clarté de la composition de la phrase." This is surely relevant to Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

<sup>59</sup> *art. cit.* 16. About this point, Professor K. H. Schmidt writes to me: "Adjektiv - Nomen ist als 'Gruppenflexion' zu bestimmen, was Borgstrøms 'compounding' nahekommt."

<sup>60</sup> James Murphy: *Aspects of the Verbal System of Irish Gaelic*. (Unpublished Edinburgh University M.Litt. Thesis) 1970, 25-6. Here too, the point is made that the problem of defining a "word" is to some extent irrelevant in a transformational grammar.

Simplifying the issue considerably, one might define a "word" as a 'terminal string unbroken by a boundary #' <sup>61</sup>. The boundary would be present in a deeper part of the grammar between all elements representing lexical categories, but may disappear through "rules that delete # in various positions" <sup>62</sup>. Indeed, it seems not impossible to construct a transformational grammar of Irish either to assign a boundary # between preposition and its head-noun or in such a way that it is deleted. Chomsky and Halle point out that in a case like this, the main criteria would be phonological. If so, it is fairly likely that an optimal transformational grammar of Irish would perform this deletion and that the resulting word-boundaries would, on the whole, be not unlike those obtained through the application of structuralist theory. On the other hand, both alternatives would have to be weighed carefully against each other.

One residual point may be mentioned, however, where the case-prefix approach may make for a better description of the language. Usually, prepositional phrases involving prepositional pronouns ("conjugated prepositions") such as *agam* 'at me,' *dhuit* 'to you' etc. are given as paradigms consisting of a preposition with personal endings, somewhat like verbs, whereas prepositional phrases with a noun in them have no such paradigms; it would naturally be quite absurd even to conceive of a paradigm taking in all the nouns possible after any given preposition. Also, forming a conjugated preposition is considered part of the morphology of the language, but forming a phrase consisting of preposition and noun is looked on as belonging to syntax. In a case-prefix grammar, both classes could be accounted <sup>63</sup> for in the framework of nominal and pronominal paradigms and what in both cases to varying degrees may be described as a merger between the two elements would be left to be accounted for in the phonological component, as part of those rules that determine the phonological shape of all prepositional phrases. <sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> R. T. Harms, *Introduction to Phonological Theory*, Englewood Cliffs 1968, 110 and Noam Chomsky & Morris Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English*, New York, Evanston and London 1968, 12-4; 163 and especially 366 ff., where an elaborate discussion on this topic may be found.

<sup>62</sup> *op. cit.* 367.

<sup>63</sup> Or as Sommerfelt states (*art. cit.* 304): "The structure of the preposition governing noun is thus not different from that of the preposition + pronoun, with the exception that the two elements are often merged into one form in which the pronominal element is very different from the independent pronoun."

<sup>64</sup> In this connection it is worth noting that for two other languages that have parallels to the Celtic prepositional pronouns, Hebrew and Arabic (Cf. Greene, *The Irish Language*, Dublin 1966, 39) Chomsky & Halle state (*op. cit.* 368) that "the orthographic conventions . . . are consistent with the phonetics in not separating prepositions or articles from the following word."



## DISTINCTIVE PLURAL FORMS IN OLD AND MIDDLE IRISH

IN his pioneering paper 'Contributions to the history of Middle Irish declension' (*TPS* 1905), Strachan urged the importance of a full account of the nominal inflexion of the modern Irish dialects, saying that 'Middle Irish inflexion will be fully understood only when we know clearly not only that from which it started but also that to which it was tending'. It is significant that it was the dialects which he indicated as the most important area for investigation rather than the classical norm, which has many artificial features. We now have a good general, though by no means complete, picture of the flexion of the noun in Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx; a study of its historical development in Munster Irish appears elsewhere in this volume (p. 200 ff.) In that article attention is drawn to the fact that, whatever else may have been lost of the declensional system, the opposition between Singular and Plural is always marked by flexion. This is true not only for Munster Irish, but for the whole range of Gaelic dialects, Eastern and Western.

Compulsory distinction between singular and plural is by no means general in the languages of western Europe. English has homophonous *sheep*, *fish*, etc., and all the Scandinavian languages have inherited homophonous neuters, like *tre* 'tree'; they constitute a closed category, but they are not being eliminated. French is remarkable in having given up for most nouns the flexional distinction between singular and plural which is still represented in the orthography; *homme* and *hommes* are now phonetically distinguished only in marginal sandhi cases. The resulting ambiguities are mitigated by concord with the indefinite and definite article, both of which have distinctive forms for singular and plural: *un homme*: *des hommes*; *l'homme*: *les hommes*.

The neo-British languages show from the earliest records a situation similar to that of modern Irish; all nouns which can be used in plural meaning distinguish the singular from the plural by flexion. The apocope, which is conventionally taken as marking the transition from British to Welsh, Cornish and Breton, produced a very large number of cases of homophony between singular and plural; these were all eliminated by distributing the surviving expressive plural formations over the entire stock of nouns. The historical plural formation, whether homophonous with the singular or marked for plurality, was, however, retained after numerals. Thus the inherited homophony in W. *dyn:dyn* 'man; men' was resolved into *dynion* 'men', but (*tri*) *dyn* '(three) men' was retained from the earlier stage; *mab* 'boy',

however, had an expressive plural *meib* which was retained after numerals: *tri meib*. Medieval Welsh shows this system in transition. The first step was to differentiate the general plural form from that used after numerals, so that *meib*: *tri meib* was transformed into *meibion*: *tri meib*; the second was to generalise the singular after numerals, so that the distribution in the later language is *meibion*: *tri mab*. In the transitional period, *tri meib* and *tri mab* were acceptable variants. Breton and Cornish had already reached the Modern Welsh situation in their earliest recorded forms; neo-British, therefore, has compulsory marking of the plural by flexion except after numerals, where the singular is compulsory. This marking of plurality in the noun has as its concomitant an invariable article, the elimination of plural forms of the adjective, and the use of the sg. form of the verb with plural subjects.

In this study, we will apply Strachan's dictum to Old and Middle Irish. It is assumed that the declensional system of Old Irish reposes on forms similar to those attested from other Indo-European languages, and it is known that Irish was tending towards a system in which an essential feature was the distinction of the plurals of nouns from the corresponding singular forms by flexion. More precisely, the distinction is between nominative singular and nominative plural, for already in Old Irish flexion of the other cases was largely redundant: the accusative and genitive were marked by their positions, the dative (apart from a few archaic survivals) was simply the form required after certain prepositions, and the vocative was compulsorily preceded by the particle *a* *L*. What we will be looking for, therefore, is the elimination of inherited homophony of N sg. and N pl. and the term 'homophony' is to be understood in this sense unless otherwise defined.

At first sight there would appear to be a good deal of homophony in Old Irish. Using the declensional classification of Thurneysen's *Grammar of Old Irish*, Noun Class II neuters are of the type NA sing. *críde* *N*: NA pl. *críde* *L*. When dealing with the flexion of nouns we can hardly regard the mutations which case-forms cause as sufficient to differentiate them. These mutations are realised only on syntactically associated following words, usually adjectives, and only when the anlaut of such words is capable of mutation; the case is not very different from that of French *homme*: *hommes*, which we have taken to be homophonous in spite of the marginal possibility of the plural form realising its orthographic -s as [z] before a following vowel. We must therefore regard *críde* *N* and *críde* *L* as homophonous for practical purposes.

The elimination of homophony had, however, begun in the pre-history of Irish, and in the Adj. Class I declension, which includes the

definite article. Before the apocope, there were probably no cases of homophony; after it, the neuter NA pl. of Adj. Class I, and therefore of the article, would have lost their endings, so that to *a cride mār* 'the large heart' would have corresponded the plural *\*ind chrīde mār* 'the large hearts'. These were poorly differentiated forms, and the first response was to equip the neuter NA pl. of the attributive adjective Class I and the article with the expressive ending *-a h-* of the fem. NA pl., thus giving the standard Old Irish form *inna crīde māra*, where plurality is expressed by concord. The old neut. NA pl. of Adj. Class I was, however, retained in substantival function when preceded by the new expressive form of the article: *inna olc*, gl. *mala*, MI 89<sup>a</sup>2, Sg 217<sup>a</sup>8.

A similar revision of the attributive declension took place in Adj. Class II. Here the inherited situation in the NA pl. would have been:

Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
N. <i>uili</i>	* <i>uile</i>	<i>uile</i>
A. <i>uiliu</i>	* <i>uile</i>	<i>uile</i>

The masc. N pl. offered the only expressive form, which had the advantage of also being the masc. -fem. NA pl. of Adj. Class III; *-i* was generalised for the NA pl. of all genders. But again the substantival adjective retained its old declension, for a time at least, as in masc. A pl. *fris[na] remeþerthiu*, MI 69<sup>a</sup>4, neut. N pl. *innas dorche*, MI 54<sup>b</sup>20. Similar patterns were applied to Adj. Classes III and IV, thus eliminating distinctively neuter forms from the plural flexion of attributive adjectives in favour of forms which were common to feminine and neuter in Adj. Class I and to all genders in the three other classes. It was predictable that the separate forms of the masc. N and A pl. would finally be eliminated in favour of the fem. -neut. form, though this revision was only beginning in the Old Irish period.

It was now the turn of the nouns. Firstly, all non-neuter nouns with inherited homophony evolved an expressive N pl. form. The most obvious case is that of Class IV (type *soilse*), where the procedures which had been applied to Adj. Class II (type *uile*) were used to provide a new NA pl. *soilsi*. Since a good many Class IV nouns are abstracts derived from Class II adjectives, it is often hard to say whether given plural forms are to be allotted to the noun or the adjective. Thus *inna fudumnai in moro*, MI 81<sup>a</sup>4, is taken by both Knott (*Dictionary*) and Thurneysen (*Grammar*) to be an early example of the *-i* form of the neut. NA pl. of the adjective *fudumain*, replacing an earlier *fudumne*, attested at Wb 5<sup>e</sup> 16, 8<sup>b</sup>6. They may well be right, but it would be just as easy to take *fudumnai* as the plural of the abstract *fudumnae*; there is no great difference



between 'deeps' and 'depths'. It will be remembered that it was the similar ambiguity of the N pl. form *soilsi* which gave rise in the later language to two semantically differentiated nouns: *solus* 'light' and *soilse* 'brilliance'. It does not seem to have been recognised that this equivalence of the NA pl. of adjectives of Classes I, III and IV with the NA pl. of the corresponding abstract nouns of Class IV was extended to Class I adjectives which formed Class IV abstracts 'with palatal consonance arising from syncope', to quote Thurneysen's definition of this category (*Gramm.* § 353). Such adjectives (type *úasal*) when used attributively form a NA pl. in *-i* (type *úaisli*) for all genders; they have simply been remodelled on the pattern of *solus: soilsi*. Thurneysen misses the point when he attempts to distinguish between an 'irregular' plural *ingainti* and a 'regular' abstract *ingainte*; synchronically, the former is derived from the latter. Next, most neuter nouns with inherited homophony of NA sg. and NA pl. evolve an alternative NA pl. form in *-a h-*. This must have happened first with substantival adjectives of Class I which were not accompanied by an expressive article or adjective; compare with the examples of *inna olc* 'the evils' quoted above the phrase *nícon batar olca batis mou*, *MI 100°II*, where the expressive plural form is required in spite of plurality being marked doubly by verbal forms. This was then extended to the corresponding nouns of Class I; while no statistics of the distribution of short and long forms exist, we may take it that Thurneysen is correct in saying (*Gramm.* § 278) that the short form is most frequent when concord is marked by a word in adjectival function, and that the long form is normal in other environments. For the St Gall glosses Strachan states (*ZCP IV 489*) that, where the noun appears by itself, the long form is always used; on the other hand, he lists three examples of the long form with the article. But his one example with a numeral shows the short form. We know from the later history of the language that it was patterns like the type *trí chét* '300': *inna céta* 'the hundreds' which gave rise to a modern Irish situation resembling that of modern Welsh, where the use of the singular after adjectival numerals constitutes an exception to the general rule that the plurality of nouns must be expressed by flexion. So we can distinguish for Class I neuter nouns the following stages: (i) NA sg. *cenn N* : NA pl. *cenn L*, with distinction only by concord of adjectival; (ii) NA sg. *cenn N*; NA pl. *cenn L* or *cenna h-*, with the short form used in concord with adjectivals and the long form in all other environments; (iii) NA sg. *cenn N*: NA pl. *cenn L* or *cenna h-*, with the short form used only after adjectival numerals. Stage (i) is prehistoric and stage (ii) represents the normal Old Irish situation, while stage (iii) was reached very soon in the Middle Irish period.

Returning to Old Irish, the expressive ending *-a h-* was extended to most other cases of homophony, notably neuters of Class VII (type *dorus : doirseá*). Whether an alternative *déta* to *dét* existed in the Old Irish period is doubtful; *oenchlár a dét* 'his teeth are a single surface', *ZCP* viii 196 § 23, is a clear example of the short form but *déta* is attested from early Middle Irish. There do not seem to be any cases of the plural of the indeclinable nouns *togu*, etc., but the by-form *togae* shows assimilation to Class II. The neuter nouns of this class (type *cride*) are, as already noted, homophonous in NA sg. and NA pl. and they have not evolved expressive plural forms; they are still in the stage which we have noted as prehistoric for Class I neuters (type *cenn*). Why should they be the only class of nouns to have resisted a powerful movement towards the elimination of homophony?

Perhaps *-e* was retained in the plural precisely because *-e* was an expressive neuter NA pl. ending in three declensional classes, Class VI (type *muir : muire*), Class XIII (type *mag : maige*) and Class I verbal derivatives in *-ach* (type *étach : étaige*). If *-e* was synchronically marked as a neuter plural ending, we can understand why the homophony *soilse : \*soilse* was eliminated in favour of the revision *soilse : soilsi* while the homophony *cride : cride* was allowed to remain as long as the ending remained distinctive in the shape [e]. There is support for this view in the penetration of the endings *-i* and *-a* into the N pl. of Class VII (type *mug : mogae, mogai, moga*), where the nouns involved are masculines. Thurneysen's suggestion that the form in *-a* arises from a shift in vocalism before enclitics (cf. *ar pectha-ni*) leaves the *-i* unexplained except as an analogy with the plural of Class II, and conflicts with Strachan's statement, *Ériu* i 3 n. 1, that the change of final *-e* to *-a* in the Würzburg Glosses is 'very rare' outside this declensional form, while Strachan's own suggestion that the final *-e* here was 'an opener sound that usual' is a piece of speculation devised to account for the shift of *-e* to *-a*. The forms *-robae* and *-cúalae* establish firmly that *-e* is the expected development of earlier *\*-owe(s)* and Cowgill's attempt (in an as yet unpublished paper on absolute and conjunct verbal endings) to explain the ending of *-bermai* as *\*-moses* on the parallel of *mogai* from *\*mogowes* is another piece of ad hoc speculation. It is much more likely that a masc. N pl. in *-e* was felt to be anomalous; in the examples *na tri recte*, Wb 29<sup>a</sup>16, *na sothe*, Sg 64<sup>a</sup>14, the neuter article has been triggered off by an ending synchronically allotted to the neuter plural. The ending *-i* was clearly masculine, while *-a* occurred as the A pl. of masculine consonantal stems, as well as being the original NA pl. of Class III feminines; that is to say, it was not marked as a neuter ending in spite of its introduction into the neuters of Class I.

Early Middle Irish shows the complete elimination of homophony in all the old neuters which in Old Irish had long and short NA pl. forms; either the long form becomes the only one (e.g. *scéla*, *doirseá*) or, with the loss of the neuter as a separate category, the masc. N pl. takes over (e.g. *gráid* beside *gráda* in *SR*, *cinn* beside *cenna*, *passim*). The short form survives only after numerals (*noí cenn*, *noí ngrád*) and only in a small number of nouns; *secht ndoirsi* (for earlier *ndoirsea*) is common in saga material but there are no examples of *secht ndorus*.

With this shift so clearly established, it might be expected that the neuters of Class II (type *críde*) would also eliminate homophony. There were certain factors, however, which complicated the situation. It has been suggested above that their NA pl. in *-e* was identified as a neuter plural form; the phonetic shift at the beginning of the Middle Irish period which reduced all final unstressed short vowels to [ə], together with the disappearance of the neuter as a separate category, deprived the *-e* of this status. But it simultaneously made it impossible to follow the earlier procedure of providing expressive plurals by the borrowing of the *-a* or *-i* of other declensional classes, since these had also become [ə]. This process had indeed the effect of enormously increasing homophony, since the masculine of Class II (type N sg. *céile*: N pl. *céili*) lost their inherited expressive plural, and the feminines of Class IV (type N sg. *soilse*: N pl. *soilsi*) lost the expressive plural which they had acquired some centuries before. A large new category of homophones appeared, having a general form ending in [ə] for all cases except the D pl. in *-(a)ib*.

The most obvious way to eliminate homophony would have been to generalise the highly expressive D pl. ending in the plural, or at least in the N pl.; although there are hints of such a procedure from *Saltair na Rann* up to the present day (see below p. 214), it has always remained marginal and need not concern us here. What was done was to take over an expressive ending which had survived the falling together of final short unstressed vowels; therefore, of necessity, from the consonantal stems. As far as our documentary evidence goes, the ending chosen was the unsynopated A pl. of the Class IX nouns of Old Irish: *comla* : *comlada* and *slige* : *sligeda* provided the pattern for the new formations *gilla* : *gillada* and *céile* : *céileda*. (It is worth noting, in support of the view that the case system of Irish has been largely redundant from the Old Irish period onwards, that no attempt was made to introduce such forms as G sg. *\*gillad*, or AD sg. *\*gillaid*; this large class of nouns has been invariable in the singular from the end of the Old Irish period.)

There are, however, some puzzling features. The first is that there is a considerable documentary gap between the time at which the new category of homophones came into existence and the time at



which the new plural ending is first attested. The dating of *Saltair na Rann* is still a matter of controversy, but we may simply note that, while the falling together of final unstressed short vowels had clearly taken place by the time of its composition, it contains no example of the spread of the new plural in *-ada* to the homophones. Nor are any examples available from texts which might with some confidence be dated to the eleventh century. On the other hand, there are plenty of examples quotable from twelfth century texts. Furthermore, although the tracts describing the classical norm list the homophones as permissible plurals (type *croidhe*), they invariably list the expressive plurals (type *croidheadha*) as well; since the details of the classical norm must have been worked out some time in the twelfth century, we are entitled to say that, in some dialect areas at least, all the Middle Irish homophones had developed expressive plurals in *-adha*. Indeed, we can go further, for in prose texts of the twelfth century we can see that the distribution of long and short plural forms is precisely the same as that which has been noted above for the survivals of the Class I neuters: short forms as permitted alternatives after adjectival numerals and long forms in all other positions. There are very few exceptions to this distributional rule in *Acallam na Senórach*; in a case like *bhaile irrabatar mu choicli agus mu chomaltada*, 1489, it may have sufficed to inflect only the second of the nouns in the common collocation *coicli agus comalta*. But the grammatical tracts give only partial support to such a rule. They prescribe (*Introduction* § 18) that the *ainm íseal iolraidh*, the technical term for the homophonic plural, may be used after *trí L*, or the *ainm ard iolraidh*, the plural in *-adha*, after *trí h-*, but they do not tell us under what other circumstances the *ainm íseal iolraidh* may be used. A cursory examination of texts in *dán díreach* will show that it is in fact acceptable in all cases except after *trí h-*; in a poem composed in the early seventeenth century we find the line *atáid croidhe sonn gá sníomh* 'there are hearts here straining', *IBP* 3.12, where only the concord of the verb marks *croidhe* as a plural. When we remember that the short NA pl. of the Class I neuter nouns would not have been acceptable in such an environment in Old Irish, and that all forms of modern Irish have compulsory marking of the plural of the noun by flexion except after numerals, we are entitled to conclude that this use of the *ainm íseal iolraidh* was a mere literary device, and that the distribution suggested above was that which was current in Ireland in the twelfth century.

On the other hand, the very existence of the term *ainm íseal iolraidh* for a homophonous plural suggests that the use of forms like *bile*, *maide*, *uisge* as general plurals was a feature familiar to those who constructed the norm. It is important to note that none of the

old Class I neuters which continued to exhibit short plurals in Middle Irish (*noí cenn*, *noí ngrád*, etc.) is reckoned as having an *ainm íseal iolraidh*; *atáid na croidhe* . . . was permissible (even if a deliberate archaism), but *atáid na \*ceann* was not and even the inherited *trí cheann* is, from the point of view of the tracts, an analogical formation (*canamhain*) like *trí mharg*. So it seems probable that, at the time of the falling together of final unstressed short vowels, there was a period when the *cride* class, with its plural patterns *inna cride L*, *trí chride L*, absorbed the masculine and feminine homophones of the type *chéile* and *soilse* and that there was a period of homophony before the introduction of the *-eda* ending which would correspond with the prehistoric stage (i) of the development of the Class I neuters in Old Irish. A second period, with a distribution *crideda*, but *inna cride*, *trí chride*, corresponding to the distribution of the long and short endings of the Class I neuters in Old Irish, then ensued; this was the pattern which permitted the retention of *croidhe* as an *ainm íseal iolraidh* in classical verse. Finally, not later than the twelfth century; the distribution *crideda*, but *trí chride*, replicates the earlier *cenna*, but *trí chenn*. It was the large accession of the *cride* type nouns which extended the *cenna*: *trí chenn* pattern, and which opened up the way for the generalisation of the use of the singular after nouns in the dialects of Ireland.

The latter reservation is of importance, for Eastern Gaelic shows no trace of such a process. The only survival of *trí L* is in the bound forms Sc. G. *trì cheud*, Manx *three cheead*, which preserve the OIr mutation; Sc. G. *trì mìle* represents a revision of OIr *téora míle* without assimilation to the old neuter category, which is attested for Middle Irish by *trí míle cheól*, LU 2033 (Manx has lost the corresponding word). Only a very few words take a singular after numerals; as well as the inherited *trí latha*, *three laa* we find Sc. G. *bliadhna* 'year', *trì bliadhna* but *na bliadhnaichean* against Manx *blein*, *three bleeaney*, but *na bleeaneyn*, where comparison with modern Irish *bliain*, *trí bliana*, but *na blianta* suggests that the Sc.G. singular form *bliadhna* is secondary. There are a few other such words, but none of them belongs to the category of the Middle Irish homophones (type *bile*, *maide*, *uisge*); all the members of this category require the plural after numerals: *trí bile(ach)an*, etc. The obvious conclusion is that the process we have outlined for literary Irish, and for the dialects of Western Gaelic, never took place in Eastern Gaelic at all; the small category of words which took a short plural in late Old and early Middle Irish (*trí chét*, *chenn*, etc.) changed its membership somewhat but did not increase in size. The homophones were provided with new expressive endings from a very early time.

The difficulty here is that there is no trace in our literary sources or in Western Gaelic dialects of the Eastern ending *-(a)n* which corresponds to *-adha* as the plural marker of these nouns; Howells (*Studia Celtica* 6. 90-7) has convincingly argued that it is not to be derived from the Middle Irish *anmanna* type which, though productive in modern Irish dialects, is not applied to the nouns under discussion. His suggestion that it derives from English nouns with singular ending *-e* and plural *-en* would fit in well with the distribution; it was precisely the homophones with vocalic auslaut which needed a new expressive plural. On the other hand, his argument that 'one need not wonder at this employment and spread of a termination of foreign origin' (97) is a little too facile; all his other examples, except that of *-s* in modern Irish dialects, are suffixes of one kind or another, not part of the declensional system. And the use of *-s* in modern Irish as a plural marker is both very recent and very restricted; it arises from a state of bilingualism not easily imagined for Eastern Gaelic at the time required.

The whole problem requires further investigation. It is quite clear that the neat picture of a general plural ending *-adha* for the homophones is inadequate. Strachan noted that one of them, *búaille*, had already acquired the corresponding syncopated ending of Class IX nouns in Middle Irish, and *baile* forms plural *bailte* in all modern dialects, with addition of *-n* in Sc.G. *bailtean*, Manx *baljyn*, but no such forms are recognised by the grammatical tracts (cf. *bailti* marked as faulty, *IGT Decl.* ex. 65). There is still much to do along the lines suggested by Strachan.

Their application here has, however, proved fruitful. We have seen that a considerable number of flexional shifts already attested in Old Irish are directly due to the tendency to eliminate homophony. Of especial interest is the splitting of adjectival flexion into two types, attributive and substantival, with the latter maintaining the older flexion and the former innovating freely and completely eliminating distinctive neuter forms in the plural. Since there were no inherited distinctive neuter forms in the singular, this involved the elimination of the category in the whole flexion of the attributive adjective. Meanwhile, homophony was eliminated in the noun by procedures based on those adopted by the attributive adjectives; by the classical Old Irish period it was basically restricted to the type *críde* which is the last representative of two dying categories, that of the neuter and that of the homophonous plural. At this point Eastern and Western Gaelic show divergence of development. In Eastern Gaelic all cases of homophony were eliminated by the introduction of new expressive plural endings, the origins of which are not yet adequately explained; the only remnants of the old homophones are a handful of words in



which synchronically singular forms are used after numerals. In Western Gaelic the process was more gradual, insofar as the *críde* class was swollen by the access of the *céile* and *soilse* class; the literary evidence suggests that these gradually adopted the expressive plural ending *-eda*, but that the elimination of the homophonous plural, except after numerals, did not take place until the twelfth century, and hence the norm of classical Modern Irish, which was elaborated at that time, preserved the homophonous plurals as permitted alternative forms. It is the prose texts of that period, buttressed by the evidence of the modern Irish dialects, which allow us to establish the real distribution. Since the homophonous plural was a permitted form after adjectival numerals in twelfth century Irish, and since the number of words with such plurals was large, the pattern was extended in Western Gaelic, being materially assisted by the shift from G pl. to N sg. of the form used after substantival numerals (*fiche bean* for *fiche ban*, noted as a fault in the grammatical tracts). Otherwise, however, homophony has been eliminated and both Eastern and Western Gaelic have reached the situation already attained by the neo-British languages many centuries before.

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# INFHILLEADH NA nAINMFHOCAL I nGAeilGE NA MUMHAN—DEARCADH STAIRIÚIL

o.o Úsáidtear na comharthaí seo leanas chun tagairt a dhéanamh do na foinsí ar ar bunaíodh an staidéar so:

IGT *Irish Grammatical Tracts I* ed. Bergin, leathanaigh 37-166.

TBC *Táin Bó Cualnge* (leagan Leabhar Laighean) in *The Book of Leinster II* ed. Best & O'Brien.

R *Regimen na Sláinte*. S. Ó Ceithearnaigh do chuir in eagar.

PB *Párlíament na mBan* ed. Brian Ó Cuív.

- I Gaeilge na Rinne, Co. Phortláirge. Foirmeacha ó Sheán Tóibín, 73, Baile na nGall. Bhailíos féin iad i rith an tsamhraidh 1973.
- 7 Gaeilge Bhaile Mhic Códa, Co. Chorcaí. Foirmeacha a d'fhoilsigh H. Wagner in *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects I, II*.
- 11 Gaeilge Chléire, Co. Chorcaí. Foirmeacha ó Phádraig Ó Drisceoil, 84. Bhailíos féin iad i rith an tsamhraidh 1973.
- 15 Gaeilge Iarmhúscraí, Co. Chorcaí. Foirmeacha ó Neil bean Uí Ríordáin ("Neil Tam"), 79, as Cúil Aodha. Bhailíos féin iad i rith an tsamhraidh 1973.
- 18 Gaeilge Íbh Ráthach, Co. Chiarraí. Foirmeacha ó "c" Seán Ó Conaill (1853-1931), Cillrualaigh. Foilsíodh i *Leabhar Sheáin Í Chonail* (S. Ó Duilearga a chuir in eagar) iad.  
"s" Seán Ó Sé (1853-1934), Currach na nDamh. Foilsíodh i *mBéaloideas* 29 iad.  
"w" Foirmeacha a d'fhoilsigh H. Wagner in *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects I, II*.  
Muna bhfuil aon deifir idir na foinsí éagsúla so, ní luaitear ach 18.
- 20 Gaeilge Dhún Chaoin, Co. Chiarraí. Foirmeacha ó "d" Dónall Ó Gairbhia ("Dan Garvey"), 69, Ceathrú an Fhírtéartaigh.  
"l" Lisa bean Uí Mhistéala ("Lisa Sheosaimh"), thart fé 60, as Clochar.  
"p" Pádraig Mac Gearailt ("Patsy Gheartaltaigh"), 27, as an gCom.

Foirmeacha isea iad a bhailíos féin i rith an tsamhraidh 1973. Muna bhfuil aon deifir idir na húdair éagsúla so, ní luaitear ach 20.

- 22 Gaeilge Chill Bheathach, Co. an Chláir. Foirmeacha a d'fhoilsigh H. Wagner in *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects I, II*.
- 23 Gaeilge Dhúlainn, Co. an Chláir. Foirmeacha ó "s" Stiofán Ó Helaoire (1859-1944) a foilsíodh i *mBéaloides* 12 : 139-164, 14 : 113-129 agus 28 : 21-49. "w" Foirmeacha a d'fhoilsigh H. Wagner in *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects I, II*.  
Muna bhfuil aon deifir idir an dá fhoinsé seo, ní luaitear ach 23.
- 24 Gaeilge Bhaile Bhuíocháin, Co. an Chláir. Foirmeacha a d'fhoilsigh H. Wagner in *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects I, II*.
- 40 Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge, Co. na Gaillimhe. Foirmeacha d'fhoilsigh Tomás de Bhaldraithe i n*Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge—an deilbhíocht*.
- 46 Gaeilge Chárna, Co. na Gaillimhe. Foirmeacha a d'fhoilsigh Arndt Wigger in *Nominalformen im Conamara-Irischen*.
- 56 Gaeilge Iorruis, Co. Mhuigheo. Foirmeacha a d'fhoilsigh Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh in *The Irish of Erris, Co. Mayo*.
- 86 Gaeilge Theilinn, Co. Dhún na nGall. Foirmeacha a d'fhoilsigh H. Wagner i n*Gaeilge Theilinn*.

0.1 Baintear úsáid as na giorraithe seo leanas:

- a. tuiséal ainmneach
- b. baininscneach
- c. tuiséal cuspóireach
- f. firinscneach
- g. tuiséal ginideach
- gr. tuiséal gairmeach
- i. uimhir iolra
- r. tuiséal réamhfhoclach
- u. uimhir uatha
- B bunriail
- F foriail
- C caolú ar an gconsan deireannach
- L leathnú ar an gconsan deireannach
- U athrú ar ghuta deireannach an ainmfhocail  
(.i. a > u, ea > io, éa > eó, o > u).



- 1.0 Ar an ndromchla is é an rud é infhilleadh an ainmfhocail sa Nua-Ghaeilge ná eangach contrárthachtaí foghraíocha a imríonn ar dheireadh an ainmfhocail. Feiniméan deilbhíochta isea é. Is minic a luaití díochlaonadh an ainmfhocail sna teangthacha Indeorpach den tseanachéim (an Laidean agus an Ghréigis, abair) i gcomparáid leis. Ach ní mar a chéile iad in aonchor ó thaobh an structúr doimhin de.

Sa structúr doimhin is é an rud atá againn sa Nua-Ghaeilge ná dhá eilimint: eilimint séimeantach éigeantach (an contrárthacht UATHA:IOLRA) agus eilimint comhréire “iomarcach” (na tuisil). Níl an t-eilimint comhréire “iomarcach” sa Laidean agus sa Ghréigis—deireadh an Rómhánach *pedes regis* nó *regis pedes* agus is é an rud a thugadh le tuiscint gur leis an rí na cosa agus ní leis na cosa an rí ná an t-iarmhír ginideach + *is*. Ach i nGaeilge na Rinne, abair, déarfadh duine *cosa an rí*. Ní mar a chéile *cosa an rí* agus *rí na gcosa*. Is é an rud a fhreagraíonn don iarmhír ginideach + *is* sa bhfrás Laidne ná ord na bhfocal.

- 1.1 Ní rud nua “iomarcacht” na dtuiseal sa Ghaeilge, dar ndóigh. Tá siad “iomarcach” ó ré na Seana-Ghaeilge i leith. Tá an gairmeach “iomarcach” ón uair nárbh fhéidir gan “a” a chur roimhe. Tá an cuspóireach “iomarcach” ón uair nárbh fhéidir é a chur roimh an ainmneach gan chomhartha fé leith (*int i*) a chur roimhe siúd. Tá an ginideach “iomarcach” ón uair nárbh fhéidir gan é a chur i ndiaidh ainmneach a riartha. Deineadh réamhfhoclach “iomarcach” den tabharthach nuair nárbh fhéidir é a úsáid ach i ndiaidh réamhfhocail. Is é an t-aon ionadh ná gur mhair infhilleadh na dtuiseal chomh fada san—agus go maireann a iarsmaí fós.

- 1.2 Do réir an chórais atá le fáil in IGT, is iad na contrárthachtaí teoiriciúla a fhaghtar in infhilleadh an ainmfhocail sa Nua-Ghaeilge chlasaiceach ná:

u.a.	u.gr.*	u.c.*	u.g.	u.r.
i.a.	i.gr.*	i.c.	i.g.	i.r.

Ach, dar ndóigh, ní fhaghtar riamh na contrárthachtaí seo go léir in aon réim amháin. Na cinn atá marcálta \* ní fhaghtar riamh leo féin iad (is ionann i.gr. agus i.c. i gcónaí; is ionann u.gr. agus u.c. agus u.a. de ghnáth ach

- (1) más consan caol nó guta caol deireadh u.g., is ionann u.gr. agus u.g.

- (2) más consan caol nó guta caol deireadh u.r. agus an t-ainmfhocal i gceist firinsneach ilsíollach nó baininsneach, is ionann u.c. agus u.r.)

Is é an rud a dhéanfaimid ag cur síos ar an infhilleadh dhúinn ná UATHA agus IOLRA a luadh agus ina dteanta san na foirmeacha (u.g. nó i.r., cuir i gcás) a dheineann contrárthacht don bhunuatha nó don bhuniolra. Ní dhéanfar aon tagairt do u.c. mar tá sé imithe ar fad agus déanfar tagairt do u.gr. agus i.gr. más gá.

- 1.3 Tá meath nóalta tagaithe ar chontrárthachtaí an infhillte i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus sna canúintí eile leis. Tá an contrárthacht i.a:i.c. imithe ar fad. Is beag atá fágtha den contrárthacht IOLRA:i.g. — tá sí imithe ar fad in 1 agus 22. Tá an contrárthacht IOLRA:i.r. imithe ar fad ach amháin foirsma in 11 15 18. Agus, cé go bhfuil sé soiléir gur mhair an contrárthacht UATHA:u.r. go dtí le fírdhéanaí i gcásanna áirithe, tá sí ag tuitim as a chéile ins gach aon áit—fiú amháin in 11 15 18, na háiteanna is láidre atá sí fós.

D'fhéadfá a rá gurb iad na contrárthachtaí atá le fáil i bhfurmhór na n-ainmfhocail i gcanúintí na Mumhan i láthair na huaire ná:

(1) UATHA:u.g.:IOLRA.

(2) UATHA:IOLRA

Agus fiú amháin an contrárthacht UATHA:u.g., tá sí teoranta go leor toisc ná húsáidtear foirm an u.g. ach sa structúr

AINMFHOCAL 1 ± ALT + AINMFHOCAL 2

Seo anois cúpla sampla as Dún Chaoin (20):

*i lár na páirce—ach i lár an pháirc mhór*

*bhí an madra rua ag marú na gé—ach bhí an madra rua ag marú an ghé bhán*

D'fhéadfá a rá ina choinnibh sin go gcloistear foirmeacha mar fé bhun na Páirce Móire nó turas Cille Bige ach foirmeacha calcaithe isea iad so agus ní gheintear go spontáineach iad.

- 1.4 Is é an tslí is soiléire chun infhilleadh na n-ainmfhocal a láimhseáil ná iad a roinnt ina n-aicmí do réir foirm fhoghraíoch an bhunuatha. Tá ceithre cinn de na haicmí seo le fáil:

I. Ainmfhocail dár críoch consan leathan.

II. Ainmfhocail dár críoch consan caol.

III. Ainmfhocail dár críoch ə.

IV. Ainmfhocail dár críoch guta iomlán.

Pléifmíd iad so i ndiaidh a chéile, ag tosnú leis an mbunriail agus na forialacha sa Nua-Ghaeilge chlasaiceach agus a n-oidhrí i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus ag leanúint orainn chun féachaint ar na hainmfhocail a haistríodh go dtí forialacha nó aicmí eile agus ar na forialacha nua atá tagaithe chun cinn i gcanúintí na Nua-Ghaeilge i gcoitinne agus i gcanúintí na Mumhan fé leith

- 1.5 Baineadh amach bunrialacha agus forialacha na Nua-Ghaeilge clasaicí as iomlán na ndíochlaontaí atá le fáil in IGT. Tá liosta na gcomhfhreagarthaí (bunrialacha nó forialacha ranna IGT) le fáil san aguisín. Nuair a luaitear ainmfhocail fé leith as IGT, áfach, tugtar an roint as ar tógadh é mar seo:
- teach* (§ 31)

## 2-3: AINMFHOCAIL DÁR CRÍOCH CONSAN LEATHAN

- 2.0 Do réir IGT is í bunriail na n-ainmfhocail so ná córas cúig contrárthachtaí:

[+ L]	UATHA i.g.	<i>colam</i> (§ 11, § 12)
[+ L + ə]	IOLRA	<i>colama</i>
[+ L + əv']	i.r.	<i>colamaibh</i>
[+ C]	u.g.f. u.r.b.	i.a.f. <i>colaim</i>
[+ C + ə]	u.g.b.	<i>colaim</i>

An córas bunúsach atá againn i gcanúintí na Mumhan, níl ann ach ceithre contrárthachtaí:

[+ L]	UATHA i.g. (ní 1 22)	<i>bád</i> (20), <i>adharc</i> (20)
[+ L + ə]	IOLRA b.	<i>adharca</i>
[+ C]	u.g.f. u.r.b.	IOLRA f. <i>báid adhairc</i>
[+ C + ə]	u.g.b.	<i>adhairce</i>

Chaithfí an cúigiú ceann [+ L + əv'] a chur leis na cinn seo in 11 15 18 chun freastal ar na cásanna teoranta ina n-úsáidtear é. Seo cúpla sampla:

- 11 *na fir a bhí ar na bádaibh*  
 15 *trí cinn do chapallaibh*  
 18 *trí cinn do ghearrcachaibh*

Níor mhiste tagairt ghairid a dhéanamh d'fhoirm eisceachtúil atá cloistithe agam in 15 don i.gr.f.—*a fhearaibh*.

Maidir leis an u.g.b. tá foirm fé leith le fáil i gcás ainmfhocail áirithe dár críoch [əx]. Féach:

- 1 *a sheanachailligh*  
 15 *a chailligh seachas a sheanachailleach*  
 18 *a lánmheirdrigh*  
 20 *a chailligh*



Déanaimís comparáid le 86 *a chailligh* seachas *a chailleach*.

Tá sé deacair ceist u.r.b. a réiteach go sásúil, mar tá meath tagaithe ar an gcontrárthacht so le fírdhéanaí nó ag teacht uirthi ós ár gcómhair, mar adéarfá, agus dá bhrí sin ní féidir rialacha deimhne a chur ar bun chun gach aon chás a shásamh. D'fhéadfaimís a rá, áfach, go bhfuil an chontrárthacht le fáil an chuid is mó den am in 11 15 18 23, uaireanta in 20 24 leis, ach go bhfuil sí imithe beagnach ar fad in 1 22. Is é an rud is mó a tharlaíonn ná go n-imíonn foirm u.r.b. Ach uaireanta is é an bunuatha a imíonn agus níl fágtha ach foirm u.r.b. Sin é an rud a tharla in 1, cuir i gcás, sa bhfocal *cros*. Tá sé imithe ar fad ón aicme seo dá bharr agus is iad na contrárthachtaí atá againn anois ná:

*crois* UATHA: *croise* u.g.b.: *croiseanna* IOLRA

Uaireanta eile fanann an t-iolra san aicme seo. Cuir i gcás:

20 *cois* UATHA: *coise* u.g.b. : *cosa* IOLRA: *cos* i.g.

Uaireanta eile arís ní thagann beirt chainteoir as an aon áit le chéile:

20d *tá an fhuinneog ar oscailt agus féach amach tríd an bhfuinneog*

20p *tá an fhuinneog ar oscailt agus féach amach tríd an bhfuinneog*

## 2.1 Foriail 1 do réir IGT:

[+ L]	UATHA i.g.	<i>fear</i> (§ 65)
[+ L + əv']	i.r.	<i>fearaibh</i>
[+ C]	u.g. i.a.	<i>fir</i>
[+ U]	u.r.	<i>fíor</i>
[+ U + ə]	i.c.	<i>fíora</i>

Tá an fhoraiil seo tuitithe isteach sa bhunriail agus an t-aon iarsma amháin atá fágtha, foirm chalcaithe isea é: *cionn* (i gcionn 7rl.)

## 2.2 Foriail 2 do réir IGT:

[+ L]	UATHA i.g.	<i>cíos</i> (§ 95)
[+ L + ə]	IOLRA u.g.	<i>cíosa</i>
[+ L + əv']	i.r.	<i>cíosaibh</i>

Is dócha gur tháinig an t-iarmhír + *anna* isteach cuíosach luath chun an iolra a scarúint ón uatha. Gan dabht tháinig sé isteach san aicme seo ón aicme dár críoch consan caol, áit go raibh sé stairiúil i bhfocail mar *céim céimeanna*. Ní aithníonn

IGT a leithéid mar chóir—ach mar chanamhain (féach § 41 go háirithe). Pé ar domhan é, tá foirmeacha mar *lochannaibh srothannaibh* le fáil cheana in R. Is í an fhorail atá againn anois i gcanúintí na Mumhan ná:

[+ L	UATHA	<i>ctos</i> (15)
[+ L + ə]	u.g.	<i>ctosa</i>
[+ L + ənə]	IOLRA	<i>ctosanna</i>

agus ghlac na canúintí eile (40–86) páirt sa bhforbairt chéanna.

Is minic a imíonn an chontrárthacht UATHA:u.g. i bhfocail bhaininsneach dár críoch + *acht*. Cuir i gcás: 1 *slat iascaireacht* ach 15 *slat iascaireachta*. Ach níor tharla a leithéid ar an scála céanna is a tharla sé i gConnachta (féach 40 46 *ctos* UATHA + u.g.). Rud a tharla áfach: cailleadh an chontrárthacht ghutaí san iolra ach coimeádadh de ghnáth san u.g. é. Is amhlaidh a fhaghaimid foirmeacha mar

1 11 15 *lios* UATHA:*leasa* u.g.:*liosanna* IOLRA

Fé mar a thaispeánfar in 3.3 thíos, tá forás mór tagaithe ar + *anna* mar chomhartha an iolra.

### 2.3 Forail 3 do réir IGT:

[+ L]	UATHA	<i>saltar</i> (§ 185)
[+ L + əx]	u.g. i.g.	<i>saltrach</i>
[+ L + əxə]	IOLRA	<i>saltracha</i>
[+ L + əxəv']	i.r.	<i>saltrachaibh</i>
[+ C]	u.r.b.	<i>saltair</i>

Níl fágtha den fhorail seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach an t-aon fhocal amháin, go bhfuil na foirmeacha so leanas air in 20:

*srathar* UATHA:*srathrach* u.g.:*srathracha* IOLRA

Tabharfaimid fé ndeara, áfach, go bhfuil sé imithe ón bpátrún so in 1:

*srathar* UATHA: ? u.g.:*sratharaíonta* IOLRA

Bíodh san mar atá, tá forás mór tagaithe ar + *acha* mar chomhartha an iolra, fé mar a chífimid in 3.5 thíos.

### 2.4 Forail 4 do réir IGT:

[+ L]	UATHA	<i>láithear</i> (§ 162)
[+ C]	u.r.b.	<i>láithir</i>
[+ C + əx]	u.g. i.g.	<i>láithreach</i>
[+ C + əxə]	IOLRA	<i>láithreacha</i>
[+ C + əxəv']	i.r.	<i>láithreachaibh</i>

Níl aon iarsma den fhorail seo fágtha i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach tá + *eacha* le fáil mar chomhartha an iolra, go mórmhór sna hainmfhocail bhaininsneach ilsiollach den aicme seo a haistríodh go dtí an aicme dár críoch consan caol (*paidear maidean* cur i gcás). Féach 3.5, 4.3 agus 5.2 thíos.

## 2.5 Forail 5 do réir IGT:

[+ L]	UATHA	<i>talamh</i> (§ 19)
[+ L + ən]	u.g. i.g.	<i>talmhan</i>
[+ L + ənə]	IOLRA	<i>talmhana</i>
[+ L + ənəv']	i.r.	<i>talmhanaibh</i>
[+ L + ən']	u.r. i.a.	<i>talmhain</i>

Níl ach dhá fhocal le fáil go coitianta i gcanúintí na Mumhan a bhain leis an bhforail seo sa Nua-Ghaeilge chlasaiceach agus is iad atá ann ná *breitheamh talamh*. Maidir le *breitheamh*, tá sé dulta isteach sa bhunriail (1 11 15 20 22). Cás fé leith isea *talamh*. Tá sé tuitithe isteach sa bhunriail fhirinsneach san uatha in 11 15 18 20, cé go bhfaghtar seanafhoirm an ghinidigh taobh le taobh leis an bhfoirm nua in 15 20. Ach san iolra is é a fhaghaimíd ná seanafhoirm an i.a. (*talmhain* > *talúin*) agus síneadh + *tí* curtha léi. Seo iad na pátrúin atá againn:

- 1 *talamh* UATHA: *talún* u.g.: *talúintí* IOLRA  
 15 20 *talamh* UATHA: *tailimh talún* u.g.: *talúintí* IOLRA  
 11 18 *talamh* UATHA: *tailimh* u.g.: *talúintí* IOLRA

Coimeádtar seanafhoirm an i.g. sa logainm *Barr na dTalún* in 15. Ní mar a chéile canúintí na Mumhan agus na canúintí eile sa chás so. Féach:

- 40 46 *tala* UATHA: *talún(a)* u.g.: *taltat* IOLRA  
 86 *taladh* UATHA: *talaidh* u.g.: *talta* IOLRA

## 2.6 Forail 6 do réir IGT:

UATHA [+ L]	UATHA	<i>Mairghréad</i> (§ 156)
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Tá na focail fhirinsneach a bhain leis an bhforail seo dulta isteach sa bhunriail. Faghtar fo-fhocal baininsneach a leanann í:

- 1 *maighistreds* UATHA.

## 2.7 Forail 7 do réir IGT:

UATHA [+ L]	UATHA	<i>deathach</i> (§ 37)
[+ L + ə]	u.g.	<i>deathcha</i>
[+ C]	u.r.	<i>deathaigh</i>



Luann IGT dhá ainmfhocal fhirinsneach sa bhforiail seo, *sliabh* (§ 66) agus *gleann* (§ 66). Bíonn u.r. [+ C] nó [+ U] ar *gleann*.

Is é an fhoraiail atá ar *sliabh* i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus sna canúintí eile ná oidhre na forialach a bhí air sa tSeana-Ghaeilge:

1-24 *sliabh* UATHA: *sléibhe* > *slé* u.g. (40-86 *sliabh*:*sléibhe*)

Le meath an réamhfhoclaigh chuaigh *gleann* isteach i bhforiail 2 maidir leis an uatha: 1-24 *gleann* UATHA:*gleanna* u.g.

Tá formhór na n-ainmfhocail bhaininsneach a bhain leis an bhforiail seo dulta isteach sa bhunriail (*anál deathach* > *datach gríosach ladhar sál*) ach tá sé suimiúil ná fuil *anál datach* baininsneach ach firinsneach anois in 1. Fágann san *olann srón tón*, cé ná luaitear an ceann deireannach in IGT.

I gcás *olann* cloíonn 11 15 leis an seanariail. Níl tuairisc le fáil mar gheall ar u.r. in 22 23. Tá u.r. tar éis an bhunuatha a dhíbirt in 7 agus tá an focal dulta isteach sa bhunriail in 1.

11 15 *olann* UATHA: *olla* u.g.: *olainn* u.r.

22 23 *olann* UATHA: *olla* u.g. : ? u.r.

7 *olainn* UATHA: *olla* u.g.

1 *olann* UATHA: *olainne* u.g.

Tá ceist *srón tón* níos casta fós sna canúintí go léir:

15 *srón tón* UATHA: *sróna tóna* u.g.: *sróin tóin* u.r.

18 *srón tón* UATHA: *srón tóna* u.g.: *sróin tóin* u.r.

20 *sróin tóin* UATHA: *srón tón* u.g.

7 *sróin* UATHA: *srónach* u.g.

22 24 *srón* UATHA: *sróin* u.r.

40 *srón tóin* UATHA: *sróna srónach tónach* u.g.

46 *srón tóin* UATHA: *sróna tónach* u.g.

86 *tóin* UATHA: *tóna* u.g.

## 2.8 Foriail 8 do réir IGT:

<i>UATHA</i> [+ L]	<i>UATHA</i>	<i>glún</i> (§ 44)
[+ C + ə]	u.g.f.	<i>glúine</i>

Tá na focail a bhain leis an bhforiail seo dulta isteach sa bhunriail ach amháin *glún* atá aistrithe go dtí an aicme dár críoch consan caol le malairt inscne.

## 2.9 Foriail 9 do réir IGT:

<i>UATHA</i> [+ L]	<i>UATHA</i>	<i>teach</i> (§ 31)
[+ C]	u.r.f.	<i>tigh toigh</i>
[+ C + ə]	u.g.f.	<i>tighe toighe</i>

Is é *teach* an t-aon fhocal amháin a bhain leis an bhforiail seo a infhilltear fós i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus is é an rud a tharla dhó ná gur dhíbir u.r. an bunuatha:

1-24 *tigh* UATHA: *tighe* > *tí* u.g.

A mhalairt a tharla sna canúintí eile (40-86), áit ina bhfaghtar an chontrárthacht:

*teach* UATHA: *tí* *toi* u.g.

## 2.10 Foriail 10 do réir IGT:

UATHA [+ L]	UATHA	<i>ogh</i> (§ 30)
[+ C + ə]	u.g.f.	<i>uighe</i>
[+ U]	u.r.f.	<i>ugh</i>

Is é *ogh* an t-aon ainmfhocal amháin a leanann an fhoraiail seo in IGT. Tá sé dulta isteach sa bhunriail ins gach aon chanúint ach amháin le malairt inscne i gcanúintí Chonnachta agus Uladh agus i dtuaisceart Chontae an Chláir i gCúige Mumhan (23 24).

## 2.11 Foriail 11 do réir IGT:

IOLRA [+ L + ə]	IOLRA	<i>eadartha</i> (§ 49)
[+ L + əð]	i.g.	<i>eadarthadh</i>
[+ L + əv']	i.r.	<i>eadarthaibh</i>

Na focail a bhain leis an bhforiail seo, ainmeacha briathardha dár críoch + *adh* abea a bhformhór agus tá siad aistrithe go dtí an aicme dár críoch ə.

## 2.12 Foriail 12 do réir IGT:

IOLRA [+ C]*	i.a.f.	<i>loingis</i> (§ 53)
[+ C + ə]	IOLRA	<i>loingse</i>
[+ C + əð]**, +[ L]	i.g.	<i>loingseadh loingeas</i>
[+ C + əv']	i.r.	<i>loingsibh</i>

Faghtar an chontrárthacht [+ C]\* in § 23 § 173; tá sí roghnach in § 53 § 102 § 107; ní faghtar in § 30 § 31 § 44 § 46 § 48 § 55 § 101 § 164 í. Ní faghtar an chontrárthacht [+ C + əð] in § 173. Maireann an fhoraiail seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan sa bhfoirm:

IOLRA [+ C + ə]	IOLRA	<i>sluaiste</i> (20)
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Uaireanta faghtar i.g. [+ L] — *ubh banbh* (11), cuir i gcás. Seo cúpla sampla:

*bóthar* (§ 53) 1-20 23 *bóithre* (22 *bóithrí* le síneadh)  
*capall* (§ 173) 22-24 *caiple* (ar nós 40-86; ach 1-20 B)  
*coinneal* (§ 54) 1 15-20 23 24 *coinle*  
*fearsad* (§ 54) 15 20 *feirse*

Sampla suimiúil isea é seo toisc ná féadfadh *feirse* teacht go díreach ón bhfoirm chlasaiceach *feirste* ach ó fhoirm gan mheititéis atá níos sine (féach TBC 8703 *fertsib*).

<i>fód</i> (§ 88)	24—agus 40— <i>fóide</i> (ach 7 15–20 23—agus 46—B)
<i>sluasad</i> (§ 54)	1–11 18 20 24 <i>sluaiste</i> (15 <i>sluaistí</i> le síneadh; 22 <i>sluaisaidí</i> )
<i>ualach</i> (§ 55)	1 11–22 24 <i>ualai</i> > <i>ualaighe</i> (ach 23 <i>ualacha</i> ?)
<i>ogh</i> (§ 30)	1 11–20 <i>uí</i> > <i>uighe</i> (ach 22–24 <i>uibheacha</i> )

D'imigh ainmfhocail eile isteach sa bhunriail agus d'aistrigh cuid eile go dtí forialacha éagsúla nó go dtí an aicme dár críoch consan caol (*carrag litear*). Fé mar a chífimid in 3.6 thíos, tá cúpla focal tagaithe isteach sa bhforiail seo as an mbunriail.

- 2.13 Foriail 13 do réir IGT: is ionann an fhorail seo agus an bhunriail ach amháin go mbaintear an chontrárthacht [+ C] i.a.f. di siúd. Níl fágtha den fhorail seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach amháin *ubhall* (§ 94):

1–24 *úll* UATHA: *úill* u.g.: *úlla* IOLRA  
(ach 40–86 *úlla* UATHA: *úllaí* IOLRA)

- 2.14 Foriail 14 do réir IGT:

[+ L]	UATHA	<i>ab</i> (§ 21)
[+ L + əδ]	u.g. i.g.	<i>abadh</i>
[+ L + əδə]	IOLRA	<i>abadha</i>
[+ L + əδəv']	i.r.	<i>abadhaibh</i>
[+ L + əδ']	u.r. i.a.	<i>abaidh</i>

Níl aon iarsma den fhorail seo le fáil i gcanúintí na Mumhan.

- 2.15 Foriail 15 do réir IGT (§ 183):

<i>abhann</i> UATHA u.g. i.g.	<i>aibhne</i> IOLRA
<i>abha</i> u.g.	<i>aibhneadh</i> i.g.
<i>abhainn</i> u.r.	<i>aibhnibh</i> i.r.

Do réir na bhfianaisí atá againn ó na canúintí agus ó na logainmeacha, is é an bunstructúr contrárthachtaí a bhí an bhfocal so i gcanúintí na Mumhan go dtí le déanaí ná:

*abha* UATHA (féach an logainm 20 *An Abha Bheag*)  
*abhann* u.g. (ach féach an logainm 18 20 *Baile na hAbha*)  
*abhainn* u.r.  
*aibhne* IOLRA  
*aibhnibh* i.r.



Anois, áfach, is é an peictiúir atá againn ná:

11-18 *abha* UATHA: *abhann* u.g.: *abhainn* u.r.:

11 *aibhne* 15 *aibhní* 18 *aibhnte* IOLRA

1 7 20 22 *abhainn* UATHA: *abhann* u.g.:

20 *aibhnte* 22 *abhainte* 1 7 *abhainneacha* IOLRA

I gcomparáid leis seo tá an scéal i bhfad Éireann níos simplí in 40-86:

*abhainn* UATHA: 40-56 *aibhne* 86 *abhanna* u.g.:

40-56 *aibhneachtaí* 86 *aibhneacha* IOLRA.

## 2.16 Forail 16 do réir IGT (§ 177):

*arbhar* UATHA

*arbhanna* IOLRA

*arbha* u.g.

*arbhann* i.g.

*arbhannaibh* i.r.

Tá *arúr* dulta isteach sa bhunriail san uatha ins gach aon chanúint. Maidir leis an iolra, is é 40 *arúrachtaí* an t-aon fhoirm atá agam lasmuigh de chanúintí na Mumhan. Ach i gCúige Mumhan tá 1 15 *arúintí*.

Chítear dom gurb é *talamh* (féach 2.5 thuas) fé ndeara an fhoirm seo. B'fhéidir gur mar seo leanas a thuit an rud amach:

(1) *talmhain* i.a.: *talmhana* i.c.

*arbhanna* IOLRA

(2) *talúin* i.a.: *talúna* i.c.

*arúnna* > *arúna* IOLRA

(3) *talúin* i.a.: *talúna* i.c.

\**arúin* i.a.: *arúna* i.c.

(4) *talúin* IOLRA

\**arúin* IOLRA

(5) *talúintí* IOLRA

*arúintí* IOLRA

## 2.17 Forail 17 do réir IGT (§ 59):

*bean* UATHA

*mna* u.g. IOLRA

*ban* i.g.

*mnaoi* u.r.

*mndibh* i.r.

Is beag an deifir a tháinig ar na contrárthachtaí seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan. Tá *mnaoi* tuitithe ins gach aon áit ach 18s. 22. Gan dabht tá *mndibh* imithe ach amháin in 11 15 18, cé go bhfuil fianaisí ann go n-úsáidtear mar bhuniolra é i mBaile an Fhirtéaraigh i gCorca Dhuibhne. Níl sé ag na cainteoirí go rabhas ag obair leo in 20 (Dún Chaoin) ach go háirithe. Tá *ban* imithe in 1 22.

## 2.18 Forail 18 do réir IGT (§ 133):

*luch* UATHA

*lochtha* IOLRA

*lochadh* u.g.

*lochthadh* i.g.

*lochaidh* u.r. i.a.

*lochthaibh* i.r.

Tá *luch* dulta isteach sa bhunriail ins gach aon áit i gCúige Mumhan ach amháin san iolra in 7 11 18 20, áit ina bhfaghtar

*luchaigh* < *lochaidh*. In 15 faghtar *luchaigh* sa bhfrás calcaithe *lán do luchaigh* seachas an gnáthiolra *lucha*. In 7 11 chuaigh an t-*iolra* so i bhfeidhm ar an bhfocal *beach* (§ 39) agus is amhlaidh atá an t-*iolra beachaigh* againn ó na háiteanna san. Sa chomhthéacs so tá sé suimiúil féachaint ar an rud a thuit amach sna canúintí eile (40–56 ach go háirithe). Iontu súd chuaigh *lacha* i bhfeidhm ar *luch meach* < *beach* chun na h-*iolraí* nua *luchain meachain* a gheiniúint ar phátrún *lachain*.

## 2.19 Foirail 19 do réir IGT (§ 32):

<i>siúr deirbhfiúr</i> UATHA	<i>seathracha</i> * <i>deirbhfeathracha</i> IOLRA
<i>seathar</i> * <i>deirbhfeathar</i> u.g. i.g.	<i>seathrach</i> * <i>deirbhfeathrach</i> i.g.
* <i>siair deirbhfiair</i> u.r.	* <i>seathrachaibh</i> * <i>deirbhfeathrach-</i> <i>aibh</i> i.r.

Níl *siúr* le fáil go coitianta i gcanúintí na Mumhan. Ach tá *driofúr* < *deirbhfiúr*:

- 1 15 20 *driofúr* UATHA: *driféar* u.g.: *driféaracha* IOLRA  
 11 18 *driofúr* UATHA: *driféar* u.g.: *drifir* u.r.: *driféaracha*  
 IOLRA

- 3.0 Lasmuigh de na focail gur dheineamair tagairt dóibh in 2.0 thuas (focail bhaininsneach a chuaigh isteach le déanaí san aicme dár críoch consan caol, i bpáirt nó go hiomlán), tá focail eile ann, idir fhirinsneach agus bhaininsneach, a d'aistrigh go dtí an aicme dár críoch consan caol i gcanúintí na Mumhan go léir agus, an chuid is mó dhíobh, sna canúintí eile chomh maith:

FIRINSCNEACH *glún* > *glúin* *tdilliúr* > *tdilliúir* (ach 40–86 *tdilliúr*) *teach* > *tigh*

BAININSCNEACH *aimsear* > *aimsir carrag* > *carrag déarc* > *déirc gaineamh* > *gainimh giús* > *giúis gruag* > *gruaig Gaoidhealg* > *Gaolainn* (1 *Gaoilinn*) *litear* > *leitir maidean* > *maidin mong* > *muing muintear* > *muintir reileag* > *reilig sneadh* > *snidh*

Caithimid a rá go bhfuil an próiseas so le feiscint cheana in IGT, a ghlacann le dhá fhoirm i roint chásanna (leithéid *obar obair*). Tugann IGT dhá fhoirm ar dhá fhocal eile (*cnámh* § 95 *cnáimh* § 41; *trágh* § 38 § 39 *tráigh* § 41 § 42). Is dócha gur deifir chanúna atá i gceist anso. Féachaimís ar oidhrí na bhfocal so i gcanúintí an lae inniu:

- (1) *cnámh*: u.g. *cnámha* (§ 95) 1-22 *cnámh:cnámha* > *cná*  
*cnáimh*: u.g. *cnámha* (§ 41) 40-86 *cnáimh:cnámha*  
 (2) *tráigh*: u.g. *trágha* (§ 42) 1-11 18-22 *tráigh:trágha* > *trá*  
 56 *tráigh* [tra:j]:*trágha* [tra:və]  
 86 *tráigh* [tra:j]:*trágha* > *trá*  
*trágh*: u.g. *trágha* (§ 39) 23 *trá:trágha* > *trá*  
 40 46 *trá:trágha* [tra:v]

Tháinig dhá fhocal eile isteach san aicme dár críoch consan leathan i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach d'fhanadar san aicme dár críoch consan caol sna canúintí eile. Is iad *druim* (§ 41 § 149) agus *péist* (§ 43).

As na contrárthachtaí *druim* UATHA: *droma* u.g.: *droma* → *dromanna* IOLRA, dhein canúintí na Mumhan *drom*: *droma*: *dromanna*. Ach, dar ndóigh, tá *druim* le fáil fós sa bhfoirm chalcaithe *de dhruim* ("léim sé *de dhruim* an gheataigh") agus ní *dromanna* a fuaireas mar iolra ar an bhfocal in 11(Cléire) ach *druimeanna*.

In áit na gcontrárthachtaí *péist* UATHA: *péiste* u.g.: IOLRA tá *piast* UATHA: *péiste* u.g.: *péist* u.r.: *piasta* IOLRA le fáil i gcanúintí na Meimhan, lasmuigh de 22-24, áit go bhfaghtar *péiste* mar iolra.

- 3.1 De bharr chailliúint *dh* agus *gh* leathan i ndeireadh focail, tá na hainmfhocail dár chríoch na consain sin dulta isteach in aicmí eile. Chuaigh na focail aonsiollach (*biadh cneadh laogh sluagh* 7rl.) isteach san aicme dár críocha guta iomlán i gcanúintí na Nua-Ghaeilge go léir. Chuaigh na focail ilsíollach dár críoch + *adh* isteach san aicme dár críoch ə i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus deisceart Chonnachta (40 46). Ní mar sin dóibh i dtuaisceart Chonnachta (56) ná i gCúige Uladh(86), áfach, áiteanna ina réalaitear + *adh* mar /u/ agus + *aídh* mar /i/. Chífimid in 7.0 thíos gurbh as na focail seo a d'fhás foriail nua don iolra i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus deisceart Chonnachta agus foriail nua don uatha in iarthar na Mumhan.

- 3.2 Fé mar a dúrthas in 2.2 thuas, is é an pátrún ø:a:anna a fhreagraíonn i gcanúintí na Mumhan do F2 in IGT. Ach tá cúpla focal ann a choimeád an t-airmhr +a san iolra:

- bláth* (§ 38) 1 *blátha* (ach 11 15 20 *bláthanna*)  
*cnámh* (§ 95) 7-20 *cnámha* > *cná* (ach 1 15 *cnámhanna* > *cnánna* agus 7 *cnáite*)  
*díon* (§ 95) 1 20 *díona* (ach 11 15 *díonta*)



D'fhéadfaimís trí focail eile a chur leo san. Tá iolra + *aibh* orthu ag Dónall Ó Gairbhia(20d). I roinnt mhaith focail tá iolra "pearsanta" aige in + *aibh* nuair is é + *a* nó + *acha* a bhíonn ag cainteoirí eile (20l nó 20p, abair). Is iad na focail ná

<i>blas</i> (§ 38 B nó F2)	20d <i>blasaibh</i> < * <i>blasa</i>
<i>bun</i> (§ 72 F2)	20d <i>bunaibh</i> < * <i>buna</i>
<i>trian</i> (§ 75 F1 nó F2i.)	20d <i>treana treanaibh</i>

3.3 Tá + *anna* druidithe isteach mar chomhartha an iolra ina lán focail aonsiollach a leanann an bhunriail in IGT:

(a) FIRINSCNEACH

<i>alt</i> (§ 96)	15 22 <i>altanna</i> (ach 1 20 B, 11 <i>altaí</i> )
<i>biorán</i>	15 <i>bioránanna</i> (ach 1 B)
<i>brobh</i>	22 <i>brobhanna</i> (ach 1 11 B)
<i>cás</i> (§ 38)	20 <i>cásanna</i> (ach 1 B)
<i>fiach</i> (§ 64)	23 24 <i>fiachanna</i> (ach 20 B, 11 18 <i>fiacha</i> )
<i>gas</i> (§ 96)	11 <i>gasanna</i> (ach 1 15 18 20 B)
<i>leigheas</i>	11 <i>leigheasanna</i> (ach 20 <i>leighiseanna</i> ; R <i>leighis</i> )
<i>mac</i> (§ 15)	1 <i>macanna</i> (ach 15 18 20 B; féach 40 <i>mic macannaí</i> )
<i>seabhac</i> (§ 17)	11-18 23 <i>seabhacanna</i> (ach 1 20 22 B; féach 86 <i>seabhacannaí</i> )

I roinnt fhocail, go mórmhór na cinn dár críoch [s], is é + *eanna* an t-iarmhír a úsáidtear:

<i>amhas</i> (§ 17)	15 <i>amhaiseanna</i>
<i>cliabh</i>	18 20 <i>cléibheanna</i> (ach 22-24 B)
<i>cuas</i>	11 20 <i>cuaiseanna</i>
<i>iasc</i> (§ 96)	1 <i>éisceanna</i>
<i>leigheas</i>	20 <i>leighiseanna</i> (ach 11 <i>leigheasanna</i> ; R <i>leighis</i> )
<i>rós</i> (§ 96)	15 <i>róiseanna</i>

(b) BAININSCNEACH

<i>bas</i> (§ 39)	15 <i>basanna</i> (ach 1 B)
<i>cuach</i>	11 <i>cuachanna</i> (ach 1 15 B)
<i>deoch</i> (§ 165)	1 11 15 20 22 24 <i>deochanna</i> (féach 40-56 <i>deochannaí</i> )
<i>deor</i> (§ 39)	11 <i>deoranna</i> (ach 1 <i>deoraíocha</i> 15 18 <i>deoracha</i> 20d <i>deoraibh</i> )
<i>dias</i> (§ 39)	15 <i>léasanna</i> (ach 1 22 23 B, 7 <i>déasracha</i> , 11 18 20 <i>léasacha</i> )
<i>mias</i>	15 <i>miasanna</i> (ach 1 11 20 23 B)
<i>sceach</i>	20 <i>sceachanna</i> (ach 1-18 23 B)

Tá + *anna* tagaithe isteach in ionad F 12 (féach 2.12 thuas) in *deimheas* (§ 53):

1 *deimheasanna* (ach 20 *deimheasacha*)

Is iad na rialacha atá ar *taobh* in IGT ná (1) B nó F2 (firinsneach § 38) agus (2) B(baininsneach § 39). B'fhéidir gurb é sin fé ndeara na deifreacha a chímíid i gcanúintí na Mumhan san iolra:

1 *taoibh* 11 15 *taobhanna* 20 *taoibheanna* (40 86 *taobhannaí*)

Tá cás *méar* suimiúil go leor. Do réir IGT (§ 61) tá sé firinsneach agus leanann sé F1 (féach 2.1) ach go bhfuil a.c. *méara* air—agus IOLRA *méara* ó chanamhain. Ach tá sé baininsneach i gcanúintí an lae inniu go léir, bunriail air san uatha agus forialacha éagsúla air san iolra:

1 7 11 18 *méireanna* 15 20 *méireanta* 22–24 *méireacha*  
(féach 40 46 *méireachaí* 56 *méaraí* 86 *méara*)

Tá sé soiléir gur síneadh ar + *eanna* isea + *eanta* agus, dar ndóigh, tá sé le fáil i gcúpla ainmfhocal eile sna haicmí eile (*laetheanta oícheanta uaireanta*—focal ama isea gach aon cheann acu san). Ach ní bhaintear aon úsáid as, lasmuigh de na focail seo thuas, i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach amháin in 1 (An Rinn). Chonaiceamair cheana 1 *sratharaíonta* (in 2.3 thuas). Úsáidtear mar shíneadh ar iolra fo-fhocal a bhaineann le foriail 12 (féach 2.12. thuas) chomh maith:

*taidhreamh* 1 *taidhrimheanta* > *taidhríonta* (ach 11–20 *taidhrithe*)

*tarbh* 1 *tuirbh* nó *taraibheanta* > *taraíonta* (ach 7 15 18 20 *taraí* 11 *taraíocha* 22 23 *tuirbh*)

*tóramh* (§ 28)

B nó F2) 1 *tóraimheanta* > *tóraíonta* (ach 11 20 B, 15 *tóraí*, 18 *tóraíocha*)

- 3.4 Maidir le focail iasachta aonsiollach, tá roinnt mhaith díobh dulta isteach sa bhunriail (1 15 18 20 *bloc* 15 20 *forc* 7rl.) ach na cinn is déanaí a tháinig isteach sa teanga, bíonn iolra + *anna* orthu:

<i>farc</i> (< fork)	1 <i>farcanna</i>
<i>frog</i>	1 11 <i>fraganna</i> 15 20 <i>froganna</i>
<i>hart</i>	1–20 23 <i>hartanna</i>
<i>pub</i>	1 20 <i>pubanna</i>
<i>rabhnd</i> (< round)	20 <i>rabhndanna</i>
<i>truc</i> (< truck)	20 <i>trucanna</i>

- 3.5 Tá + *acha* agus + *eacha* (féach 2.4 agus 2.5 thuas) druidithe isteach mar chomhartha an iolra ina lán focail aonsiollach agus ilsíollach go raibh an bhunriail orthu in IGT:

## (a) FIRINSCNEACH

<i>anam</i> (§ 17)	1 15 20 <i>anamacha</i>
<i>braon</i>	11-18 <i>braonacha</i> (ach 1 20 <i>braonaíocha</i> ; féach 40-56 <i>braonachaí</i> )
<i>ceangal</i> (§ 17)	15 20 <i>ceangalacha</i> (ach 1 B)
<i>clár</i> (§ 96)	1 11-20 <i>cláracha</i> (féach 40 46 <i>clárachaí</i> ach 56 <i>clárthaí</i> )
<i>coinnioll</i>	15 <i>coinniollacha</i> (ach 18 B; féach R <i>cuinghill</i> )
<i>giall</i>	22-24 <i>giallacha</i> (ach 1 <i>giallta</i> ; féach 40 <i>gialltrachaí</i> )
<i>giobal</i>	15 <i>giobalacha</i> (féach 40 <i>gioblachaí</i> )
<i>leathar</i>	18 <i>leatharacha</i> (féach 40 <i>leathreachaí</i> )
<i>mogall</i>	18 <i>mogallacha</i> (ach 1 11 20-24 B)
<i>scamall</i>	18 <i>scamallacha</i> (ach 1-15 20 B)
<i>tamall</i>	1 20 <i>tamallacha</i> (féach 20 <i>tamallachaí</i> )

## (b) BAININSCNEACH

<i>andl</i> (§ 149)	15 <i>andlacha</i>
<i>cleath</i> (§ 39)	15 <i>cleathacha</i>
<i>craobh</i>	18 <i>craoibheacha</i> > <i>craíocha</i> 20 <i>craobh-acha</i> > <i>craocha</i> (ach 15 <i>craobhanna</i> ; féach 40 <i>craobh(r)achaí</i> 86 <i>craobhacha</i> )
<i>deor</i> (§ 39)	15 18 <i>deoracha</i> (ach 1 <i>deoraíocha</i> 11 <i>deoranna</i> 20d <i>deoraibh</i> ; féach 40 <i>deora deorachaí</i> )
<i>dias</i> (§ 39)	11 15 20 <i>léasacha</i> (ach 1 22 23 B, 7 <i>déasracha</i> , 15 <i>léasanna</i> )
<i>gearb</i>	11 <i>gearbacha</i> (ach 1 15-20 B)
<i>iníon</i>	1-24 <i>iníonacha</i>
<i>ladhar</i> (§ 37)	11 18 <i>ladharacha</i> (ach 1 B)
<i>leac</i> (§ 158)	11 15 20 22 <i>leacacha</i> (ach 1 B; féach 40-56 <i>leacrachaí</i> )
<i>meadar</i> (§ 56)	1 15-20 <i>meadaracha</i>
<i>préamh</i> (§ 39)	15-20 24 <i>préamhacha</i> > <i>préacha</i> 7 11 <i>pnéamhacha</i> > <i>pnéacha</i>
<i>punann</i> (§ 12)	15 20 <i>punannacha</i> (ach 1 7 24 B)
<i>speal</i>	1 <i>spealacha</i> (ach 11-20 B, 23 24 <i>spealta</i> )

Bhí foriail 12 (féach 2.12 thuas) i bhfeidhm ar *deimheas greideal meitheal* (§ 54) agus *cuigeann* (§ 55) in IGT. Bhí an bhunriail ar tobar (§ 17), áfach, cé go bhfuil F 12 le fáil air (*toipre*) i *mBeatha Bréanainn Cluana Fearta* (*Bethada Náemh nÉirenn* ed. Plummer 76.4). Pé ar domhan é, tá na focail seo go léir



dulta isteach i réim na bhfocal dár iolra + (e)*acha*, i bpáirt nó go hiomlan:

- 15 *cuigeannacha* (ach 11 B)
- 20 *deimheasacha* (ach 1 *deimheasanna*)
- 18 *greidealacha* (ach 1B)
- 15 18 *meithealacha* (ach 1 20 *meithil*)
- 11-20 23 24 *toibreacha* (ach 1B)

3.6 Trí chosúlacht structúir nó trí chosúlacht shéimeantach nó gan aon chúis róshoiléir, tá fo-fhocal tagaithe isteach in F 12 (féach 2.12 thuas) as an mbunriail. Is iad:

- asal* (§ 11) 23 24 *asaile* (ach 1-22 B)—do réir *capall* (féach 2.12 thuas)
- rdmhann* (§ 12) 1 7 18 *ráinne* (agus 11 *rdinnte* 15 *rdinní* le síneadh) 18 *raimhne* [rain'ə] 22-24 *ruimhne* 22 [ri:n'ə] 23 24 [rin'ə] Bhí an chontrárthacht *ramhann* UATHA: *raimhne* u.g. IOLRA le fáil in 20 chomh maith go dtí le déanaí do réir na bhfoirm-eacha atá le fáil sna scéalta. Ach is é an rud a tharla ná gur braitheadh [raun] mar *rann* agus ní mar *ramhann* i dtreo go bhfuil an focal dulta isteach sa bhunriail:

20 *rann* UATHA: *ruinne* u.g.: *ranna*

#### IOLRA

- carn* 1 11 *carann*:*cáirne*
- dorn* (§ 67) 1 11-20 23 *dorann*:*dóirne* (féach u.g. 11 15 *doirinn* 1 18 20 23 *duirinn*)

Tá ceithre focail dár críoch [əv] tagaithe isteach sa bhforiail seo. Is iad:

- banbh* (§ 96) 1-24 *banuibhe* > *banai* (ach 40 56 B; féach 1 11-20 u.g. *bainibh*)
- leanbh* (§ 15, § 16) 1-24 *leanuibhe* > *leanai* (ach 56 B, 86 *leanabai*; 1 11-20 u.g. *linibh*)
- tarbh* 7 15-20 *taraibhe* > *taraí*  
11 *taraibhe* + *acha* > *taraíocha*  
1 *taraibhe* + *anta* > *taraíonta*  
(ach 1 22 23 40-56 B; u.g. 7-20 *tairibh*  
1 22-24 *tuiribh*)
- tóramh* (§ 28) 15 *tórainmhe* > *tórai*  
18 *tórainmhe* + *acha* > *tóraíocha*

1 *tóraithe* + *anta* > *tóraitonta*  
 (ach 1 B; féach 40 46 *tóra:tóraitochai* 56  
*tóradh:tóraitochai*)

Tá sé deacair feiscint conas a thuit so amach. B'fhéidir gurbh iad na focail dár críoch + *ach* (*éadach:éadaighe* > *éadaí*) a tharraig isteach sa bhforiail seo iad.

- 3.7 Tá fo-fhocal firinsneach a leanann an bhunriail nó F1 in IGT agus is é an t-íolra atá air i gcuid de chanúintí na Mumhan ná + *a* (a.i. do réir IGT nó, b'fhéidir, i gcásanna áirithe an seana-íolra neodrach) nó + *aibh* (i.r.):

*ceann* (§ 65 F1) 1 15 *ceanna* 20 22 *ceannaibh* (seachas *cinn*)

*crann* (§ 74 F1) 11-18 *cranna* (seachas *cruinn*)

*fear* (§ 65 F1) 1 7 20-23 *fearaibh* (seachas 1 20 *fir*)

*lon dubh* (§ 67 F1) 15 *lúna dú*

*miol* 1-24 *miola*

*peann* (§ 65 F1) 20d *peannaibh* 23 24 *peanna*

Más focail aonsiallach dár críoch [l] [n] [r] iad, is minic a chuirtear [t] (ach [h] i ndiaidh [r]) isteach roimh + *a*:

*béal* 1 *béalta* (ach PB *beoil*)

*cuan* (§ 96) 1-11 18 20 *cuenta* (féach 40 46 *cuenta*  
46 56 *cuentaí* PB i.r. *cuentaibh*)

*díon* (§ 95 F2) 11 15 *díonta* (ach 1 20 *díona*)

*geall* (§ 65 F1) 1 *geallta*

*gearán* 11 15 *gearánta*

*gleann* (§ 66 F2 i.) 1-20 23 24 *gleannta*  
(féach 40 46 *gleannta* 46 86 *gleanntaí*  
TBC 12145 *glenta*)

*leabhar* (§ 75 F1) 18 20 *leabhartha* (ach 1 11 15 B;  
féach 40 46 *leabhartha* 86 *leabharthaí*)

*líon* (§ 96) 1-11 18-24 *líonta* (féach 40 46 86  
*líonta*)

*lon dubh* (§ 67 F1) 1 *lúnta dú* (ach 15 *lúna dú*)

*oigheann* (§ 12 aigheann) 11 15 20 *oigheannta*

*scéal* (§ 61 F1 nó F2 i.) 1 11-24 *scéalta* (féach 40 46 *scéalta*  
46-86 *scéaltaí*)

*seol* (§ 75) 1 11-24 *seolta* (féach 40 46 86 *seolta* 56  
*seoltaí*)

*siol* 1 11-20 23 *siolta* (féach 40 46 R *siolta*)

Tá an [t] céanna curtha isteach roimh an iarmhír sna focail bhaininsneach so:

*bruidhean* (§ 54 F12) 1 15 20 *brúonta*

*pian* 1 11-20 *pianta* (féach PB *piana*  
*pianta*)

<i>réal</i>	I <i>réalta</i>
<i>speal</i>	23 24 <i>spealta</i> (ach 11–20 B)
<i>srian</i> (§ 96 f.)	I 20 23 24 <i>srianta</i> (ach 15 <i>srianacha</i> ; féach 40 86 <i>srianta</i> 56 <i>srianachaí</i> 86 <i>srian(tr)acha</i> )

Agus tá fo-fhocal dár críoch consan eile tagaithe isteach sa réim seo:

<i>céad</i>	I 11–20 23 24 <i>céadta</i> (féach 40 <i>céadta céada</i> )
<i>gléas</i>	I <i>gléasta</i> (ach 15 <i>gléiseanna</i> )

Sna focail seo leanas caolaítear an grúpa [c + t/h]:

<i>bán</i> (§ 96)	I 5 <i>báinte</i> (ach I 7 <i>bánta</i> )
<i>cúl</i> (§ 39 b.)	I <i>cúilte</i>
<i>maor</i> (§ 96)	23 24 <i>maoirthe</i> (ach I 11–20 B; féach 40 <i>maortha</i> 56 <i>maorthaí</i> )
<i>róm</i> (§ 96)	I–II 18–24 ( <i>róinte</i> 40 46 <i>róinte</i> 40 86 <i>rónta</i> 56 <i>róntaí</i> )
<i>saor</i> (§ 96)	23 24 <i>saoirthe</i> (ach I 15 20 B; féach 40 46 <i>saortha</i> 86 <i>saorthaí</i> )

3.8 Tá [t] curtha isteach i ndiaidh [n] i gcúpla focal a bhaineann le F 12:

<i>aonach</i> (§ 55 F12)	I II 15 20 <i>aonaighe</i> > <i>aonai</i> → <i>aontaí</i> (féach 40 46 <i>aontai</i> )
<i>domhnach</i> § 55 F12)	I 8 20 <i>domhnaighe</i> > <i>domhnaí</i> → <i>domhntai</i>

3.9 Tá sraith bheag eile ann focail isea iad a bhí i bhforiail 12 cheana nó atá dulta isteach inti, agus tá [t'] nó [h'] curtha isteach iontu díreach roimh [ə] an iarmhír. Faghtar [t'] má tá dhá shiolla ar an iolra agus [h'] má tá trí cinn air.

<i>cladach</i>	20p 23 24 <i>cladaighe</i> → <i>cladaighthe</i> > <i>cladaithe</i> (féach 40–86 <i>cladaí</i> )
<i>cloidheamh</i> (§ 53 F 12)	I 11–20 23 <i>cloidhmhe</i> → <i>cloidhmhte</i> > <i>cloidhte</i> > <i>cluíte</i>

Ní mar a chéile do chanúintí na Mumhan agus do na canúinte eile sa bhfocal so. Dealraíonn sé gurb é an sean-iolra (\**claidhmhe*) bunús an uatha in 40–56 (*claimhe*) agus gurb as san atá iolraí nua déanta acu (40 *claimhíochaí* 46 *claimheachaí* 56 *claimhí*). Is é atá ag 86 ná *cloidhimh*:*cloidhimhtheacha*.



<i>currach</i>	I 20 <i>curraighe</i> → <i>curraighthe</i> > <i>curraithe</i>
<i>domhnach</i> (§ 55 F 12)	II <i>domhnaighe</i> → <i>domhnaighthe</i> > <i>domhnaithe</i> (ach féach 3.8 thuas)
<i>muileann</i>	I 15 20 <i>muilne</i> > <i>muille</i> → <i>muilte</i> (15 <i>muilti</i> ) (ach II B; féach 40 <i>muilte</i> 56 <i>muilti</i> )
<i>portach</i>	18 20 23 24 <i>portaigne</i> → <i>portaignthe</i> > <i>portaithe</i> (féach 40–86 <i>portai</i> )
<i>sliabh</i>	

Is iad na contrárthachtaí a bhí ar an bhfocal so sa tSeana-Ghaeilge (ag fágaint u.r. i.g. agus i.r. as an áireamh) ná:

*sliab* UATHA: *sléibe* IOLRA u.g. (féach Thurneysen OIG § 337)

Ach do réir IGT (§ 66) is é an rud atá againn ná:

*sliabh* UATHA: *sliabha* IOLRA u.g.

Anois, tá sé rishoiléir ná tagann foirmeacha chanúintí an lae inniu ó fhoirmeacha IGT ach ó oidhrí fhoirmeacha na Seana-Ghaeilge:

*sliabh* UATHA: *sléibhe* u.g.: *sléibhe* → *sléibhte* IOLRA.

Mar sin, faghaimíd *sliabh:slé:sléite* i gcanúintí na Mumhan go léir agus *sliabh:sléibhe:sléibhte* (56 *sléibhti*) sna canúintí eile (40–86).

<i>taidhreamh</i>	II–20 <i>taidhrimhe</i> → <i>taidhrimhte</i> > <i>taidhrithe</i> (ach I <i>taidhríonta</i> )
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3.10 Chuaigh roinnt fhocail isteach i bhforialacha 3 nó 4 (iolra + *acha*, + *eacha*). Ina dhiaidh san cuireadh [r] nó [tr] (ndiaidh [n]) isteach roimh an iarmhír. Níl a leithéid le fáil in II 18 20; sna háiteanna so is é [t] a cuireadh isteach i ndiaidh [n].

<i>beann</i>	20 <i>binneacha</i> → <i>binnteacha</i> (ach 18 B; féach 56 <i>beanntrachaí</i> )
<i>bléan</i>	I 15 <i>bléanacha</i> → <i>bléantracha</i> 20 <i>bléineacha</i> → <i>bléinteacha</i>
<i>dias</i> (§ 39)	7 <i>déasacha</i> → <i>déasracha</i> (ach II 18 20 <i>léasacha</i> féach 40 46 <i>déasachaí</i> 56 <i>diasachaí</i> )
<i>éan</i> (§ 61)	I <i>éanacha</i> → <i>éantracha</i> (ach 23 24 86 <i>éanacha</i> 40–56 <i>éanachaí</i> )
<i>nead</i> (§ 65)	I 15 <i>neadacha</i> → <i>neadracha</i> (ach II 20 <i>neadacha</i> féach 40 56 <i>neadrachaí</i> 86 <i>neadracha</i> )

<i>splanc</i>	I 7 22-24 <i>splancacha</i> → <i>splancracha</i> (ach II 18 20 PB <i>splancacha</i> ; féach 86 <i>splancacha</i> 40 <i>splancrachaí</i> )
<i>téad</i> (§ 39)	I5 <i>téadacha</i> → <i>téadracha</i> (ach I 20 B; féach 40 46 <i>téadrachaí</i> )
<i>tonn</i>	I 22 <i>tonnacha</i> → <i>tonntracha</i> I8 20 <i>tonnacha</i> → <i>tonntacha</i> (féach 40 56 <i>tonntrachaí</i> )

3.II Tá an t-iarmhír + *i*/+ *aí* brúite isteach san aicme seo mar chomhartha an iolra i gcásanna áirithe, gan dabht ó na hainmfhocail dár críoch consan leathan agus ó na cinn dár críoch *ə*, áiteanna ina bhfuil sé mar iarmhír bunrialach do iolra na n-ainmfhocail ilsíollach. Faghtar sna cásanna so leanas é:

(a) FOCAIL DÁR CRÍOCH + AS. Faghtar + *tí* leis anso in II-20.

<i>abhrais</i> (§ II)	II-I8 <i>abhraistí</i>
<i>áras</i>	I8 20 <i>áraistí</i>
<i>buaiceas</i>	I <i>buaicisí</i> I5 I8 <i>buaiceasáí</i>
<i>cleamhnas</i> (§ 38)	I5 20 <i>cleamhnaistí</i>
<i>dualghas</i> (§ 38)	I I5 <i>dualgaistí</i>
<i>fearas</i> (§ 26)	20 <i>fearaistí</i>
<i>leathdoras</i>	I <i>leathdoraistí</i>
<i>saidhbhreais</i> (§ 38)	I5 <i>saibhrisí</i> II <i>saibhristí</i>

(b) FOCAIL ÉAGSÚLA DÁR CRÍOCH [ə + c]

<i>aifreann</i> (§ II)	I <i>aifrinní</i> II 20 <i>aifrinnítí</i> (ach I5 B)
<i>cúram</i>	I <i>cúraimí</i> II <i>cúirimí</i> I5 <i>cúramáí</i>
<i>droichead</i> (§ II)	I I5 <i>droicheadaí</i> (ach II I8 B)
<i>éireaball</i>	II <i>éireaballaí</i> (ach I I5-20 B)
<i>galar</i> (§ 17)	20 <i>galairí</i> (ach I II I5 B)
<i>ioscad</i>	I 20 <i>ioscaidí</i> (ach II B; féach 40 <i>ioscaidí</i> )
<i>sluasad</i> (§54)	22 <i>sluasaidí</i> (ach I-II I8 20 24 <i>sluaiste</i> I5 <i>sluaistí</i> )
<i>snáthad</i>	I II I5 20 <i>snáthaidí</i>
<i>turn</i>	20 <i>túrnaí</i>
<i>urchar</i>	II <i>ruchairí</i> (ach I I5 B)

(c) FOCAIL DÁR CRÍOCH + ÚR.

<i>casúr</i> (§ 35, § 36)	I <i>casúirí</i> (ach II II I5 20 B)
<i>peilliúr</i>	20 <i>peilliúirí</i> (ach I I5 B)

(d) FOCAIL ÉAGSÚLA AONSIOLLACH NÓ ILSIOLLACH  
DÁR CRÍOCH [guta iomlán + c]

<i>alt</i> (§ 96)	11 <i>altaí</i> (ach 15 22 ( <i>altanna</i> 18 <i>altaibh</i> 1 20 B)
<i>amhrán</i>	18w 22w <i>amhrdintí</i> (ach 1 11 15 20 B)
<i>banríon</i>	1 15 20 <i>banríonaí</i> (ach féach 40 <i>banríonachaí</i> )
<i>cleath</i> (§ 39)	22 <i>cleithí</i> (ach 15 <i>cleathacha</i> )
<i>locht</i> (§ 95)	15 18 <i>lochtaí</i> (ach féach 40 <i>lochtannaí</i> )
<i>roth</i> (§ 95)	15 18 22 <i>rothaí</i> (ach 1 7 11 <i>rothanna</i> )
<i>rud</i>	1 11–20 23 24 <i>rudai</i> (féach 40 46 <i>rudai</i> )
<i>sruth</i> (§ 72)	20 <i>sruthaí</i> (ach 1 <i>sruthanna</i> )
<i>súgán</i>	22w(a) <i>súgdintí</i> (ach 1–20 23 24 40–86 <i>súgáin</i> )
<i>tocht</i>	11 <i>tochtaí</i> (ach 15 <i>tochtanna</i> )

## (e) FOCAIL IASACHTA ILSIOLLACH

<i>bácús</i>	15 <i>bácúisí</i>
<i>bascaod</i>	15–20 <i>bascaodaí</i>
<i>Blascaod</i>	20 <i>Blascaodaí</i>
<i>bligeard</i>	11 15 <i>bligeardaí</i> 1 <i>bleaigeardaí</i>
<i>bucaod</i>	11 18 <i>bucaodaí</i>
<i>cairéad</i>	1 15 <i>cairéidí</i>
<i>captaon</i>	15–20 <i>captaonaí</i>
<i>costas</i>	1 11 15 <i>costaisí</i>
<i>cúntas</i>	1 11 15 <i>cúntaisí</i>
<i>faisean</i>	11 <i>faisintí</i>
<i>gainéad</i>	18 <i>gainéadaí</i> (ach 1–11 20–23 B; 1 11 <i>gainéan</i> 23 <i>gainéar</i> )
(horrors)	20 <i>hararsaí</i> —plurale tantum
<i>máistreds</i>	15 20 <i>máistredsáí</i> 1 <i>maighistredsáí</i>
(mangle)	20 <i>mangalsaí</i> —plurale tantum
<i>muilleat</i>	1–20 <i>muilleataí</i>
<i>neomat</i>	11–18 <i>neomataí</i>
<i>páipéar</i>	15 20 <i>páipéirí</i> (.i. brúscar, seachas <i>páipéir</i> nuachtáin, doiciméidí)
<i>párlús</i>	1 11 <i>párlúisí</i> 18 <i>párlúsaí</i> (ach 15 B)
<i>plaincéad</i>	15 20 <i>plaincéidí</i>

3.12 Faghtar an t-íolra in + *atocha*(a) In áit + *acha* i bhfocail aonsiollach in 1 20;

<i>braon</i>	1 20 <i>braonaítocha</i> (ach 11–18 <i>braonacha</i> 40–56 <i>braonachaí</i> ).
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*deor* 1 *deoraitocho* (ach 15 18 *deoracha* 40 *deorachai* *deora*)

(b) Taobh le taobh leis an mbunriail in 20, i bhfocail aonsiollach dár foirm [c + guta gairid + nn, ll]:

*bonn* 20 *bonnaitocho* seachas *buinn*  
*crann* 20 *crannaitocho* seachas *cruinn*  
*poll* 20 *pollaitocho* seachas *puill*

Tá fianaisí ann go gcloistear *tonnaitocho* mar iolra ar *tonn* ach níl ach *tonntacha* ag na cainteoirí go rabhas ag obair leo i nDún Chaoin.

3.13 Tá iarmhír an iolra + s tagaithe isteach ón mBéarla i sraith fhocail dár críoch + *ar*. Focail iasachta isea iad go léir ach ceann amháin (*slapar*):

1 18 *cangars pilears*  
 20 *mótars sapars* (seachas *sapair*) *slapars tractars*  
 Agus féach 20 *caraibheans*.

3.14 Iolraí atá leo féin:

*dealg* (§ 44) Ní thagann iolra an fhocail seo i gcanúintí an lae inniu ón iolra a bhí air in IGT (*deilge*) ach ó fhoirm eile \**deilgne*, le síneadh + *i* nó + *eacha* uaireanta:

15 18c *dilgne* 1 *dilgní* 11 18s *dilgneacha* (féach 56 *deilgní*)

*éan* (§ 61) Faghtar iolra (*éin éanacha éantracha*) ar an bhfocal so in 1 11–20 23 24 ach úsáidtear iolra na seana-chnuasainme *éanlaith* (§ 13) mar iolra air ins gach aon chanúint beagnach:

1 7 15–22 *éanlaithe* (1 7 [ialəxə]); féach 40 46 86 *éanlaith*)

*gníomh* (§ 95) Chomh fada siar le Leabhar Laighean faghaimíd iolra na cnuasainme *gníomhradh* á úsáid taobh le taobh leis an ngnáthiolra *gníomha* (TBC 8298 *macgnimrada* 8283 *gníma*). Agus is iad oidhrí *gníomhradha* a dheineann gnó an iolra inniu: 15 20 *gníomhartha* < *gníortha* (féach 40 86 *gníomhartha*)

*long* (§ 192) Tá an cnuasainm *loingeas* (§ 53) dulta isteach mar iolra in 18 22 *loingeas* 24 *loingis* (féach 56 *loingis*)



*poc* (§ 57 *boc*) Tá an bhunriail ar an bhfocal so in 1 11 15 20 ach, seachas *puic*, tá *pocraí* le fáil in 15 sa bhfochiall “daoine mór le rá”.

#### 4-5: AINMFHOCAIL DÁR CRÍOCH CONSAN CAOL

4.0 Do réir IGT is í bunriail na n-ainmfhocal so ná córas ceithre contrárthachtaí:

[+ C]	UATHA	<i>cláirseoir</i> (§ 50), <i>truid</i> (§ 14)
[+ C + ə]	IOLRA u.g.b.	<i>cláirseoire</i> , <i>truide</i>
[+ C + əδ]	i.g.	<i>cláirseoireadh</i> , <i>truideadh</i>
[+ C + əv']	i.r.	<i>cláirseoiribh</i> , <i>truidibh</i>

Tá athrú tagaithe ar an scéal i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus sna canúintí eile. Sa chéad dul síos, maidir leis an structúr, tá contrárthacht u.g.b.: IOLRA tagaithe isteach agus cailleadh ar fad an chontrárthacht IOLRA: i.g. Gan dabht tá i.r. imithe ar fad ach amháin cúpla sampla ó 18c (*in áiteannaibh áirithe, an dáréag do bhuachaillibh óga, dhá phúint práis do phinginnibh*). Ina dhiaidh san tá dhá bhunriail chomhlántach le fáil—ceann do na focail aonsiollach agus ceann eile do na focail ilsiollach:

(1) [+ C]	UATHA	<i>maits</i> (15), <i>beilt</i> (11)
[+ C + ə]	u.g.b.	<i>beilte</i>
[+ C + ənə]	IOLRA	<i>maitseanna</i> , <i>beilteanna</i>

Tá an bhunriail chéanna le fáil sna canúintí eile (ach amháin 40-86 + *eannaí* in áit + *eanna*). Gan dabht b'é tosnú na bunrialach focail ar nós *céim* (§ 45 i. *céime* — ach i véarsa 1256 i.g. *céimeann*), go raibh iolra + *eanna* “cóir do réir staire” orthu.

Tá focail iasachta aonsiollach dulta isteach sa bhunriail agus ag dul isteach inti fós:

<i>beilt</i>	1 11-18 <i>beilteanna</i>
<i>cléit</i>	20 <i>cléiteanna</i>
<i>leaid</i>	11 20 <i>leaideanna</i> (ach 15 <i>leads</i> )
<i>maits</i>	1 15 20 <i>maitseanna</i>
<i>seairc</i>	20 <i>seairceanna</i>

(2) [+ C]	UATHA	<i>uncail</i> (20), <i>aimsir</i> (1)
[+ C + ə]	u.g.b.	<i>aimsire</i>
[+ C + i:]	IOLRA	<i>uncailt</i> , <i>aimsirí</i>

Níl an bhunriail chéanna le fáil sna canúintí eile. Iontu san bíonn iolra + *í* ar na focail fhirinsneach amháin agus + *eachaí* (86 + *eacha*) ar na focail bhaininsneach. Níl sé

fuirist míniú a thabhairt ar conas a tháinig + *i* i bhfeidhm mar chomhartha an iolra san aicme seo. Ní fhéadfaí ach buille fé thuairim a dhéanamh. Nuair a bhí an chontrárthacht [ə] UATHA: [i:] IOLRA dulta i bhfeidhm mar bhunriail ar na hainmfhocail dár críoch ə, b'fhéidir gur tosnaíodh ar "iolra dúbalta" a dhéanamh d'iolraí in + *e* agus an síneadh + *i* a chur leo. Sa chás so b'fhiú comparáid a dhéanamh leis na hiolraí sínte ar nós 15 *muiltí gaibhní* < *muilte gaibhne* agus mar sin. Ar an dtaobh eile, b'fhéidir go raibh tionchar ag focail mar *sochraide* (§ 3) atá tagaithe isteach san aicme seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan (lasmuigh de 23 24) mar *sochraid:sochraide:sochraidí*.

Tá focail iasachta ilsiollach dulta isteach sa bhunriail agus ag dul isteach inti fos:

- 15 20 *badhsaícil:badhsaícilí*
- 18 20 *buatais:buataise:buataisí*
- 1 15 *cáipéis:cáipéise:cáipéisí*
- 1 *caitids:caitidsí* (< cottage)
- 1 15 20 *uncail:uncailí*
- 1 15 20 *veidhlín:veidhlíní*

#### 4.1 Fhorail 1 do réir IGT:

[+ C]	UATHA	<i>tráigh</i> (§ 41), <i>gamhain</i> (§ 34)
[+ L], [+ L + əδ]*	i.g.	<i>trágh gamhnadh</i>
[+ L + ə]	IOLRA u.g.	<i>trágha gamhna</i>
[+ L + əv']	i.r.	<i>trághaibh gamhnaibh</i>

Tá [+ L + əδ]\* le fáil in áit [+ L] in § 34 agus § 189.

Maireann an fhorail seo san uatha mar fhorail éigeantach ar ainmfhocail fhirinsneach dár críoch [guta fada + r']:

- figheadóir* (§ 50) 1 15 20 u.g. *fiódóra*
- baidhléir* 11 u.g. *baidhléara* (< boiler)

Na focail eile a leanann an fhorail seo in IGT, tá cuid díobh dulta isteach sa bhunriail (*ceist luaith snaidhm*) nó i bhforialacha eile (*coróin inneoin*). Tá *fiacail* (§ 10) dulta isteach sa bhunriail san uatha ach an seana-iolra air fós:

- 1 7 20 22 *fiacail* UATHA:*fiacaile* u.g.: *fiacla* IOLRA

Ach in 11-18 tá sé dulta isteach i mbunriail an aicme dár críoch consan leathan:

- 11-18 *fiacal* UATHA i.g.: *fiacaile* u.g.: *fiacail* u.r.: *fiacla* IOLRA

Is é an t-aon fhocal amháin a leanann an fhoraiil seo san iolra ná:

*gamhain* (§ 34)                      1-24 *gamhna*

Na focail eile, níl aon iolra ar chuid díobh (1-24 *feoil* 1 11-24 *fuil* 1 11 22 *mil* 1-24 *móin* 1-11 18-24 *muir* 7-18 *Samhain* 1 15 18 *luachair* 7 *fearthainn*) agus na cinn eile, tá iolraí éagsúla orthu:

*bliain* (§ 10)                      1-24 u.g. *bliana*:IOLRA *blianta* (ach *bliana* le huimhreacha)

*cliámhain* (§ 34)                11 u.g. *cleamhna*:IOLRA *cleamhnaithe*  
15 20 u.g. B:IOLRA *cleamhnaithe*  
1 u.g. B:IOLRA *cliámhanta*

*greim* (§ 41)                      1 11 15 20 u.g. *greama*:IOLRA *greamanna*  
(féach IGT véarsa 1142 *greamanna*)

*buachaill* (§ 111)                1 11-20 u.g. *buachalla*:IOLRA B

Tá dhá fhocal tagaithe isteach i bpáirt sa bhforaiil seo san uatha. Is iad:

*cdisc* (§ 97 F6)                      1 7 18 u.g. *cásca* (ach 22-24 *cásc*)

*máistir* (§ 33 B nó F3)        22 u.g. *maighisteara* (ach 1 15 20 B)

#### 4.2 Foraiil 2 do réir IGT:

[+ C]	UATHA	<i>cairt</i> (§ 186), <i>cláirseoir</i> (§ 50)
[+ L + əx]	u.g. i.g.	<i>cartach cláirseorach</i>
[+ L + əxə]	IOLRA	<i>cartacha cláirseorcha</i>
[+ L + əxəv']	i.r.	<i>cartachaibh cláirseorchaibh</i>
[+ L + əy']	i.a.f. u.r.b.*	<i>cartaigh cláirseoraigh</i>

Tá an chontrárthacht u.r.b.\* le fáil in § 186 § 193; tá sí roghnach in § 120 § 151; níl sí le fáil in § 161.

Maireann an fhoraiil seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach ainmfhocail bhaininsneach amháin a leanann í. Níl ann ach córas trí contrárthachtaí:

[+ C]	UATHA	<i>ldir</i> (11)
[+ L + əx]	u.g.	<i>lárach</i>
[+ L + əxə]	IOLRA	<i>láracha</i>

Seachas na focail a leanann an fhoraiil seo in IGT (1 18 *cathair* 1 15-20 23 24 *easair* 1-20 24 *eochair* 1 11 15 20 *lasair*), tá focail tagaithe isteach ón mbunriail (1 18 20 *stiúir* 1 7 18-22 *ughaim*) agus go mórmhór ó F1 (1 *cabhair* 1 20 *gabháil* 1 11-20 *inneoin* 1 11 15 *meabhair* 1 *mallmhuir*). Agus caithimid ar focal iasachta (20 *rásúir*) a chur leo.

Ar an dtaobh eile, ní mar sin do *clais* agus *cairt* (§ 186). Do réir IGT is é a bhí orthu súd ná an bhunriail nó an fhoraiil

seo agus tá an éiginnteacht chéanna le feiscint i gcanúintí na Mumhan:

(1) San uatha tá an bhunriail i bhfeidhm (I 11–20 *clais* I 15 20 *cairt*)

(2) San iolra faghaimí

*clais* I 15 *claiseanna* (B) I 11 18 20 *claiseacha* I 22 24 *clasa*. Tá IGT *clascha* imithe ar fad lasmuigh den chanamhain air *claschanna* atá laistiar de 40 *clascannaí*.

*cairt* I 7 *cairteanna* (B) I 18 20 *cartacha* (F2)

#### 4.3 Foriail 3 do réir IGT:

[+ C]	UATHA	<i>crithir</i> (§ 163), <i>maighistir</i> (§ 33)
[+ C + əx]	u.g. i.g.	<i>crithreach maighistreach</i>
[+ C + əxə]	IOLRA	<i>crithreacha maighistreacha</i>
[+ C + əxəv']	i.r.	<i>crithreachaibh maighistreachaibh</i>

Maireann an fhorail seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach, lasmuigh de *athair* (I–24) *driotháir* (I–22) *tóithín* (II) a leanann san iolra í, ní bhíonn sí ach ar ainmfhocail bhaininsneach. Níl ann ach córas trí contrárthachtaí:

[+ C]	UATHA	<i>feirm</i> (I)
[+ C + əx]	u.g.	<i>feirmeach</i>
[+ C + əxə]	IOLRA	<i>feirmeacha</i>

Is beag atá fágtha de na focail a leanann an fhorail seo in IGT:

<i>athair</i> (§ 32)	I–24 <i>aithreacha</i> (ach uatha F6 thíos)
<i>máthair</i> (§ 32)	I–20 <i>máithreacha</i> (ach uatha F6 thíos)
<i>láthair</i> (§ 163)	20 <i>ldithreacha</i>

Ach tá fo-fhocal tagaithe isteach ón mbunriail nó ó bhunriail an aicme dár críoch consan leathan:

<i>coróin</i> (§ 42)	7 18 u.g. <i>cróinneach</i> 11 u.g. <i>cróinneach</i> : IOLRA <i>cróinneacha</i> <i>cróinníocha</i>
<i>glúin</i> (§ 44) → <i>glúin</i>	I u.g. <i>glúineach</i> (ach 7–20 24 B; féach 40 46 <i>glúnach</i> )
<i>litear</i> (§ 54) → <i>leitir</i>	I 11 15 20 u.g. <i>leitreach</i> : IOLRA <i>leitreacha</i>
<i>paidear</i> (§ 54) → <i>paidir</i>	I 11–20 u.g. <i>paidreach</i> : IOLRA <i>paidreacha</i>
<i>práinn</i>	I u.g. <i>práinneach</i>
<i>spéir</i> (§ 14)	18 20 22 u.g. <i>spéireach</i>
<i>tír</i> (§ 45)	I 7 18 u.g. <i>tíreach</i> (ach 11 15 B)



Agus fiú amháin cúpla focal iasachta:

<i>feirm</i>	1 11-20 u.g. <i>feirmeach</i> : IOLRA <i>feirmeacha</i>
<i>trucaíl</i>	18 20 u.g. <i>trucaileach</i> (ach 1 11 15 22 B) 1 15 20 IOLRA <i>trucaileacha</i> (ach 1 11 18 22 B)

Chífmíid in 5.2 thíos go bhfuil forás mór tagaithe ar + *eacha* mar chomhartha an iolra do fhocail bhaininsneach, go mórmhór nuair is é [. . . + ə + c'] an structúr atá orthu.

#### 4.4 Foirail 4 do réir IGT:

[+ C]	UATHA	<i>troigh</i> (§ 191), <i>móin</i> (§ 201)
[+ C + əδ], [+ L + əδ]*	u.g.	<i>troigheadh mónadh</i>
[+ C + əδ'], [+ L + əδ']*	u.r.	<i>troighidh mónaidh</i>
[+ C + θ' ə]	IOLRA	<i>troighthe móinte</i>
[+ C + θ' əδ]	i.g.	<i>troightheadh móinteadh</i>
[+ C + θ' əv']	i.r.	<i>troighthibh móintibh</i>

Na focail go bhfuil a ngutha fada (aonsiollach iad go léir). leanann siad F1 thuas seachas an fhorail seo agus bíonn na foirmeacha leathana\* orthu.

Maidir leis an uatha, tá an fhorail seo imithe ar fad ach amháin i gcanúintí thuaisceart Chonnachta agus Uladh. Ina háit is é a fhaghaimíid ná:

(a) B	<i>coill</i> (§ 191)	1-22 40-56 u.g. <i>coille</i> (ach 86 <i>coilleadh</i> )
	<i>geir</i> (§ 191)	1 15-20 <i>geire</i> (ach 86 <i>gearach</i> )
(b) F1	<i>móin</i> (§ 201)	1-24 40 46 <i>móna</i> (ach 56 86 <i>mónadh</i> )
(c) F4	<i>cráin</i> (§ 201)	1 11-20 24 40 46 <i>cránach</i>
	<i>ldir</i> (§ 201)	1 11-24 40 56 <i>lárach</i>

Maireann an fhorail san iolra sna cásanna so leanas:

<i>coill</i> (§ 191)	1 11-22 40 <i>coillte</i> (ach le síneadh 7 <i>coillteacha</i> 46 <i>coilltí</i> )
<i>táin</i> (§ 201)	20 <i>táinte</i> —plurale tantum
<i>troigh</i> (§ 191)	1-24 46 56 <i>troighthe</i> > <i>troithe</i>

agus, le leathnú an chonsain, in:

<i>cráin</i> (§ 201)	1-22 <i>cránta</i> (ach 23 <i>cráinte</i> 24 <i>crántacha</i> ; féach 40-56 <i>crántachai</i> 40 <i>crántrachai</i> )
<i>cluain</i> (§ 201)	20 logainm <i>Cluanta Dú</i>

agus, le síneadh + *acha*, in

<i>froigh</i> (§ 191)	15 20 <i>froightheacha</i> > <i>frathacha</i> —plurale tantum
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*láir* (§ 201) I 11–24 *lárthacha* > *láracha* (féach 40 46 *lárachaí*)

Tá iolra na forialach so dulta i bhfeidhm ar fhocail áirithe (aonsiollach, baininsneach — ach dhá shampla fhirinsneach) a bhain leis an mbunriail nó le forialacha eile in IGT. Is minic a chuirtear síneadh + *acha* leis:

*cliamhain* (§ 34) I *cliamhanta* > *clianta* (ach 11 15 20 *cleamhnaithe*)

*cruimh* (§ 14) I 7 20 *cnuimhtheacha* > *cnathacha*

*cuing* (§ 14) I 20d *cuingtheacha* (ach 20p B, 7 11 15 *cuingeacha*)

*ding* I 18 20 *dingtheacha* 11 *deangthacha* (ach 7 15 *dingeacha* 22 24 *dingthreacha*)

*faill* 22–24 *aillte* 11 18 20 *faillteacha* (ach 1 7 15 *failltreacha*)

*slinn* I *slingtheacha* (ach féach 40 46 *sleann-trachaí* 86 *sleanntracha*)

*stail* I 7 15 *stailteacha* (ach 11 *staillocha* 22 24 *staltracha* 23 *stalacha* 20 B)

*teach* (§ 31) → *tigh* 1–20 24 *tighthe* > *tithe* (ach 22 23 *titheanna*; féach 86 *toithe*)

*tír* (§ 45) I *tíortha* 7 *tíorthacha* 20d *tíortha* → *tíorthaibh* (féach 46 86 PB *tíortha* 56 *tíorthaí*)

*tráigh* (§ 42) I 7 20d *tráite* (ach 11 201 B; féach 86 *tráite*)

#### 4.5 Foriail 5 do réir IGT:

<i>UATHA</i> [+ C]	<i>UATHA</i>	<i>gruaidh</i> (§ 45)
[+ C + ə]	u.g.f.	<i>gruaidhe</i>

Leanann dhá ainmfhocal fhirinsneach an fhoraiail seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan. Ceann díobh, níl sé le fáil in IGT agus an ceann eile, tá sé tagaithe isteach ón aicme dár críoch consan leathan:

*im* 1–24 40–56 u.g. *ime* (ach féach 1 *an t-im:na hime*)

*teach* (§ 31) → *tigh* 1–24 *tighe* > *tí*

#### 4.6 Foriail 6 do réir IGT:

<i>UATHA</i> [+ C]	<i>UATHA</i>	<i>athair</i> (§ 32)
[+ L]	u.g.	<i>athar</i>

Leanann *athair* agus *máthair* an fhoraiail seo fós ins gach aon áit i gCúige Mumhan. Leanann *driotháir* í in 1–22 ach

tá u.g. *driothára* le fáil in 23 24. Maidir le *cáisc* (§ 97), coimeádann 22–24 u.g. *cáisc* ach tá an focal dulta isteach in FI u.g. *cásca* in 1 7 18 20.

Tá cúpla focal tagaithe isteach inti:

<i>cistin</i>	15–20 u.g. <i>cistean</i>
<i>nollaig</i>	1–24 40 56 u.g. <i>nollag</i>
<i>samhain</i> (§ 10 FI)	20–24 u.g. <i>samhan</i> (ach 7–18 <i>samhna</i> )

- 4.7 Foriail 7 do réir IGT: leanann an fhoraiail seo an bhunriail fhirinsneach ach amháin gurb í foirm i.a. [+ C]. Tá sí imithe ar fad as na canúintí.

- 4.8 Foriail 8 do réir IGT:

IOLRA [+ C + ə]	IOLRA	<i>súile</i> (§ 92)
[+ C + əv']	i.r.	<i>súilibh</i>
[+ L]	i.g.	<i>súl</i>

Tá *súil* sa bhforiail seo fós agus tá *glún* (§ 44) → *glúin* tagaithe isteach ina theanta:

[+ C + ə]	IOLRA	1–24 40 86 <i>súile</i> (56 <i>súilí</i> )
		1–23 40 86 <i>glúine</i> (56 <i>glúiní</i> )
[+ L]	i.g.	7–24 40 56 86 <i>súl</i> 7–20 86 <i>glún</i>

- 4.9 Foriail 9 do réir IGT: *dairghe* IOLRA: *dairgheadh* darach i.g.: *dairghibh* i.r. (§ 193)—agus mar an gcéanna *fail sail soil*. Tá an fhoraiail seo imithe ar fad.

- 5.0 Tá fo-fhocal ann a chloíonn leis an seanabhunriail (.i. IOLRA [+ C + ə]):

<i>aird</i>	15 20 <i>airde</i> (ach 1 <i>arda</i> )
<i>bráthair</i> (§ 32)	1 11 18 20 <i>bráithre</i> (féach 86 <i>bráithre</i> 56 <i>bráithrí</i> )
<i>cruimh</i> (§ 14)	11–20 <i>cnuimhe</i> > <i>cnuí</i> (ach 1 7 20d <i>cnathacha</i> 22–24 <i>cnuíocha</i> )
<i>sneadh</i> → <i>snidh</i>	7–15 <i>snidhe</i> > <i>sni</i> (ach 18–24 <i>sneadha</i> > <i>sneá</i> 1 <i>snidh</i> → <i>snig</i> B; féach 40 <i>sneadh</i> > <i>snea</i> : <i>sneadh</i> > <i>sneá</i> )

Tá an bhunriail ar *pingin sciling seachtain uair* (ach *uaireanna uaireanta*) ach amháin leanann siad an fhoraiail seo nuair a bhíonn uimhir ina dteanta.

## 5.1 Tá ríont fhocail leo féin maidir leis an íolra:

<i>cín</i>	1 15 23 <i>cíní</i> 20 22 <i>cíníos</i> (ionann is dá mbeadh sé ilsíollach—rud is fíor dhó go stairiúil: < <i>cíghín</i> )
<i>coiscéim</i>	15 20 <i>coiscéimeanna</i> (ach 1 B; leanann <i>coiscéim céim</i> in 15 20)
<i>culaith</i>	11 <i>cluithíocha</i> (ó <i>cluitheacha</i> b'fhéidir; féach <i>coróin</i> in 4.3)
<i>feais</i>	20p <i>feags</i> (íolra Béarla)
<i>leaid</i>	15 <i>leads</i> (íolra Béarla ach féach 11 20 <i>leaideanna</i> )
<i>luibh</i> (§ 14)	Tá an bhunriail nua <i>luibheanna</i> le fáil ar an bhfocal so in R PB agus faghtar in 20 f. Ach síntear le + <i>acha</i> in 11–18 f: 11–18 <i>luibheannacha</i> > <i>luionnacha</i> 20d <i>namhaidibh</i> (ach 15 B)
<i>ndmha</i> (§ 96) → <i>namhaid</i>	11 <i>staici</i> (ach 1 15 B, 20 <i>staiceacha</i> )
<i>staic</i>	Gan dabht bhí an bhunriail nua <i>uaireanna</i> i bhfeidhm ar an bhfocal so am éigin. Ach tá + <i>eanta</i> dulta isteach in áit + <i>eanna</i> sna canúintí go léir: 1–20 24 <i>uaireanta</i> (féach 40–56 <i>uaireantaí</i> ) Féach a bhfuil ráite in 3.3. thuas fé <i>méar</i> .
<i>uair</i> (§ 14)	

5.2 Fé mar a dúrthas in 4.3 thuas, tá + *eacha* brúite isteach mar chomhartha an íolra ina lán focail bhaininsneach:

<i>ainm</i> (§ 41)	1 11 15 20 <i>ainmeacha</i> (féach 40 46 <i>ainmneachaí</i> 56 <i>ainmeachaí</i> 86 <i>ainmneacha</i> )
<i>dí</i>	24 <i>díteacha</i> (ach 1–23 B; féach 40–56 <i>díteachaí</i> 86 <i>díteacha</i> )
<i>ceirt</i> (§ 14)	15 18 <i>ceirteacha</i>
<i>cistin</i>	15 20 <i>cistineacha</i> (ach 1 11 B)
<i>cruimh</i> (§ 14)	22–24 <i>cnuimheacha</i> > <i>cnuítocha</i> (ach 11–20 <i>cnuí</i> 1 7 20d <i>cnathacha</i> )
<i>cuing</i> (§ 14)	7–15 <i>cuingeacha</i> (ach 20p B, 1 20d <i>cuingtheacha</i> )
<i>culaith</i>	18 <i>cluitheacha</i>
<i>féith</i>	1 7 15 22 23 <i>féitheacha</i> (ach 18 20 B)
<i>fuithin</i>	20 <i>fuithineacha</i> (ach 1 <i>fuithintí</i> )



<i>maidean</i> (§ 54) → <i>maidin</i>	I 18 20 <i>maidineacha</i> (féach 40 46 <i>maidineachai</i> 86 <i>maidineacha</i> )
<i>mong</i> (§ 158) → <i>muing</i>	15 <i>muingeacha</i>
<i>obair</i> (§ 42)	I 11 15 20 <i>oibreacha</i> (féach 40 56 <i>oibreachai</i> )
<i>pinniúir</i>	11 <i>pinniúireacha</i> (ach 1 7 15 B)
<i>reileag</i> (§ 54) → <i>reilig</i>	I 22 <i>reiligeacha</i> (ach 15 20 B; féach 40–56 <i>reiliceachai</i> 86 <i>reilic- eacha</i> )
<i>sail</i> (§ 193)	15 <i>saileacha</i>
<i>scairbh</i>	20 <i>scairbheacha</i>
<i>scraith</i>	20–23 <i>scraitheacha</i> (ach 1B)
<i>snaidhm</i> (§ 41)	7 <i>snuimeacha</i> (ach 1 11–22 24 B)
<i>staic</i>	20 <i>staiceacha</i> (ach 1 15 B, 11 <i>staict</i> )
<i>stoirm</i>	11 15 20 <i>stoirmeacha</i>
<i>stuaic</i>	20 <i>stuaiceacha</i> (ach 11 15 B)

Díreach fé mar a chonaiceamair in 3.10 thuas i gcás na n-ainmfhocail dár críoch consanleathan, tá cúpla focal go bhfuil [r'] curtha isteach iontu roimh + *eacha*. Is iad: *carrag* (§ 54) →

<i>carrag</i> (§ 54) → <i>carraig</i>	15 18 22 <i>carraigreacha</i> (ach 1 11 20 22 <i>carraigeacha</i> )
<i>ding</i>	22 24 <i>dingtheacha</i> (ach 1 18 20 <i>dingtheacha</i> 11 <i>deangthacha</i> 7 15 <i>dingeacha</i> )
<i>faill</i>	1 7 15 <i>failltreacha</i> (ach 11 18 20 <i>faillteacha</i> 22–24 <i>aillte</i> )
<i>léim</i> (§ 45)	1 <i>léimreacha</i> (ach 20 <i>léimeacha</i> )

- 5.3 Tá fo-shampla d'ainmfhocail ilsiollach dár críoch [n'] agus tá [t'] brúite isteach iontu roimh iarmhír an iolra:

<i>Airdín</i>	20 logainm <i>Airdintí</i>
<i>fuithín</i>	1 <i>fuithintí</i> (ach 20 <i>fuithineacha</i> )
<i>seanmóin</i>	15–20 <i>seanmóintí</i>
<i>Súilín</i>	20 logainm <i>Súilintí</i>

- 5.4 Tá comhartha iolra nua tagaithe isteach i gcuid de chanúintí na Mumhan ins na hainmfhocail fhirinsneach dár críoch [guta fada + r']. [+ C + əh'ə] isea a fhoirm. Cuir i gcás 18 20 *táilliúir:táilliúirithe*.

Tá canúintí ann agus leanann siad an bhunriail amach is amach (1 11 22). In áiteanna eile níl + *ithe* le fáil ach i gcuid de na focail atá i gceist (in 15, cúig fén gcéad de na samplaí, in 7

fiche cúig fén gcéad de na samplaí, in 23 caoga fén gcéad). In 18, leanann nócha fén gcéad de na samplaí an fhorail. In 20, ceist “idiolect” isea é—leanann 20l an bhunriail i gcónaí ach leanann 20d agus 20p an bhunriail ar fad (ach amháin *dochtúirí peictiúirí*).

Seo iad na samplaí atá againn:

20d *bácair* 7 18 20d 23 *búistéir* 15 20d 23 *ceannaitheoir* 20d *coinleoir* 20d *colmóir* 20d *cuaiteoir* 15 18 20p *custaiméir* 18 20p *feirmeoir* 20d *grásair* 15 18 20d *jabair* 18 20d *muilteoir* 20d *prionsúir* 7 18s 20d *saighdiúir* 20d *siopadóir* 20d *siúinéir* 15 18 *spealadóir* 18 20d *stróinséir* 18 20d *tdilliúir* 18 23 24 *tincéir*.

Conas a tháinig + *ithe* isteach? Níl ann ach buille fé thuairim ach b'fhéidir gur chóir dhúinn féachaint arís ar an [h'] a cuireadh isteach san iolra (F12) i gcás roinnt fhocail dár críoch + *ach* (féach 3.9 thuas):

*portach*                      *portaighe* → *portaighthe* > *portaithe*

B'fhéidir gur mar an gcéanna do

*coinleoir*                      20d *coinleoirighe* → *coinleoirighthe* > *coinleoirithe*

*seachas*                      1 15 *coinleoirighe* > *coinleoirí*

## 6-7: AINMFHOCAIL DÁR CRÍOCH 6

6.0 Do réir IGT tá bunriail dhúbalta ar na hainmfhocail seo:

(a) córas dhá chontrárthacht:

[+ ə]	UATHA IOLRA	<i>fine</i> (§ 1)
[+ əv']	i.r.	<i>finibh</i>

(b) córas ceithre contrárthachtaí:

[+ ə]	UATHA	<i>fine</i> (§ 1)
[+ əð]	i.g.	<i>fineadh</i>
[+ əðə]	IOLRA	<i>fineadha</i>
[+ əðəv']	i.r.	<i>fineadhaibh</i>

Ní leanann *madra giolla* (§ 80) ach an chéad bhunriail.

Anois, toisc gurb é [u:] oidhre foghraíoch “rialta” [əðə] > [əɣə] (féach *dorgha* > *doragha* > *dorú*, *Ó Donnchadha* > *Ó Donnchagha* > *Ó Donnchú* 7rl.), is í an bhunriail go mbeadh coinne againn léi i gcanúintí an lae inniu ná: [+ ə] UATHA: [+ u:] IOLRA. Agus, dar ndóigh, tá iarsmaí a leithéide le fáil, mar fhorail, in 40-56:



[+ əδ']	u.r. i.a.f.	<i>beathaidh filidh</i>
[+ əδə]	IOLRA	<i>beathadha fileadha</i>
[+ əδəv']	i.r.	<i>beathadhaibh fileadhaibh</i>

De na focail a lean an fhoraiil seo in IGT, tá *file ola* dulta isteach sa bhunriail ar fad. Tá *léine teine slighe* > *slí* dulta isteach sa bhunriail san uatha (*slí* i mbunriail an aicme dár críoch guta iomlán, dar ndóigh). Agus tá *ceardcha comhla comhra teanga* dulta isteach i bhforaiil 2 nó i bhforaiil 3 (*comhra*) san uatha. Maidir le *beatha*, is é an rud atá againn ná:

11-20 *beatha* UATHA: *beathaidh* u.r. (ach 1 B)

Tá cás *leaba* níos casta. Ní fhéadfaimis a rá go raibh sé simplí in IGT ach oiread:

UATHA *leaba* (§ 4) *leabaidh* (§ 189)

u.g. *leabadh* (§ 4) *leabtha* (§ 4, § 189)

u.r. *leabaidh* (§ 4, § 189)

Is iad na foirmeacha atá againn i gcanúintí an lae inniu ná:

(a) córas 2 chontrárthacht:	UATHA	11-18 56 86 <i>leabaidh</i> 1 40 46 <i>leaba</i>
	u.g.	18 40-86 <i>leapa</i> 1 11 15 <i>leapan</i>
(b) córas 3 contrárthachtaí:	UATHA	20-24 <i>leaba</i>
	u.g.	20-24 <i>leapan</i>
	u.r.	20 <i>leabaidh</i> 22-24 <i>leabain</i>

## 5.2 Foraiil 2 do réir IGT:

[+ ə]	UATHA	<i>ceathramha</i> (§ 9)
[+ ən]	u.g. i.g.	<i>ceathramhan</i>
[+ ən']	u.r.	<i>ceathramhain</i>
[+ ənə]	IOLRA	* <i>ceathramhana</i> > <i>ceathramhna</i>
[+ ənəv']	i.r.	* <i>ceathramhanaibh</i> > <i>ceathramhnaibh</i>

Tá iolra na forialach so imithe ar fad as canúintí na Mumhan agus as na canúintí eile ach tá iarsmaí den uatha fágtha fós:

córas A [+ ə] UATHA: [+ ən] u.g.: [+ ən'] u.r.

córas B [+ ə] UATHA: [+ ən] u.g.

córas C [+ ən'] UATHA: [+ ən] u.g.

De na focail a lean an fhoraiil seo in IGT, tá *eascumha* > *eascú* (§ 6) *ceathramha* < *ceathrú lánamha* > *lánú* (§ 9) dulta isteach san aicme dár críoch guta iomlán. Na focail eile:

*comharsa* (§ 121) 11-20 23 córas A, 1 bunriail  
(féach 40-86 córas B)



<i>ionga</i>	11-22 córas A, 7 23 24 córas B, 1 córas C (féach 40 córas B, 46-86 bunriail)
<i>lacha</i> (§ 6)	11-18 22 córas A, 1 7 20 23 córas B (40-56 córas B, 86 bunriail)
<i>leite</i>	1-22 córas B
<i>lorga</i> < <i>lurga</i> (§ 5)	24 córas B, 15 córas C, 1 20 bunriail
Na focail atá tagaithe isteach ó F1 thuas:	
<i>ceárta</i> < <i>ceardcha</i> (§ 7)	1-18 22 córas A, 20 23 córas B (féach 40 córas B; 56 <i>ceártaidh</i> u.g. <i>ceártadh</i> )
<i>comhla</i> (§ 7)	18 córas A (40 86 bunriail; 56 <i>comhlaidh</i> u.g. <i>comhlach</i> )
<i>teanga</i> (§ 4)	11-18 córas A, 1 7 20 22 24 córas B (féach 40 46 córas B nó bunriail; 86 <i>teangaidh</i> u.g. <i>teangtha</i> )

Agus cúpla focal atá tagaithe isteach ón mbunriail:

<i>cuideachta</i> (1-20 <i>cuileachta</i> )	18s 23 24 córas A, 1 18c 20 bunriail.
<i>eorna</i>	18 córas A, 20 córas B nó bunriail, 1 11 15 bunriail.

### 6.3 Foriail 3 do réir IGT:

[+ ə]	UATHA	<i>ursa</i> (§ 121)
[+ ənn]	u.g. i.g.	<i>ursann</i>
[+ ənn']	u.r.	<i>ursainn</i>
[+ ənnə]	IOLRA	<i>ursanna</i>
[+ ənnəv']	i.r.	<i>ursannaibh</i>

Tá sampla amháin d'iolra na forialach so fágtha i gcanúintí na Mumhan:

*cuisle* (§ 145) 15 18 *cuisleanna* (ach 20 B)

Tá iarsmaí den uatha níos raidhsiúla:

córas A	[+ ə] UATHA: [+ ənn] u.g.: [+ ənn'] u.r.
córas B	[+ ə] UATHA: [+ ənn] u.g.
córas C	[+ ənn'] UATHA: [+ ənn] u.g.

De na focail a lean an fhorail seo in IGT, tá *gabha* (§ 131) dulta isteach san aicme dár críoch guta iomlán. Na focail eile:

<i>bacla</i>	15-20 córas A, 1 córas C.
<i>cuisle</i> (§ 145)	15 18 córas A.
<i>dearna</i> (§ 145)	15 córas A, 20 córas B, 1 7 22 bunriail.
<i>Éire</i>	11-20 23 24 córas A, 1 7 22 córas B (féach 40-56 córas A; 86 <i>Éirinn</i> u.g. <i>Éireanna</i> )

<i>guala</i> (§ 131)	7-23 córas A, 20 córas B, 1 córas C (ach u.g. <i>gualainne</i> ) (féach 40 46 córas C, 86 <i>gualainn</i> u.g. <i>gualanna</i> )
<i>iothla</i> (§ 145)	18 córas A, 1 bunriail. (féach 40 <i>iothlainn</i> u.g. <i>iothlanna</i> )
<i>nille</i> (§ 145)	15 18 córas A, 18w córas B, 1 20 córas C (féach 40 córas C, 56 86 bunriail)
<i>ursa</i> (§ 121)	15 18 córas A. (féach 40 córas C)

Na focail atá tagaithe isteach:

<i>bearna</i> (§ 4 F1)	15 18 córas A, 20 córas B, 1 bunriail. (féach 40 bunriail)
<i>comhra</i> (§ 7 F1)	15 18 córas A, 20 córas B. (féach 56 bunriail)
<i>mala</i> (§ 193 F5)	15 córas A, 1 7 24 bunriail.
<i>teora</i>	11-20 córas A, 7 20 22 córas B, 1 bunriail. (féach 40 56 córas C, 86 <i>teorainn</i> u.g. <i>teoranna</i> )

#### 6.4 Foriail 4 do réir IGT:

[+ ə]	UATHA	<i>námha</i> (§ 6) <i>brágħa</i> (§ 131) <i>caoga</i> (§ 8)
[+ əd]	u.g. i.g.	<i>námhad brághad caogad</i>
[+ əd']	u.r. i.a.f.	<i>námhaid brághaid caogaid</i>
[+ d'ə], [+ ədə]	IOLRA	<i>náimhde bráighde caogada</i>
[+ d'əv'], [+ ədəv']	i.r.	<i>náimhdibh bráighdibh caogad-aibh</i>
[+ d'əd]	i.g.	<i>bráighdeadh</i>

Tá an fhoraiil seo imithe ar fad as canúintí an lae inniu.

#### 6.5 Foriail 5 do réir IGT:

[+ ə]	UATHA	<i>Fiacha</i> (§ 123) <i>mala</i> (§ 193)
[+ əx]	u.g. i.g.	<i>Fiachach malach</i>
[+ əɣ']	u.r. i.a.f.	<i>Fiachaigh malaigh</i>
[+ əxə], [+ ɣ'ə]	IOLRA	<i>Fiachacha mailghe</i>
[+ əxəv'], [+ ɣ' əv']	i.r.	<i>Fiachachaibh mailghibh</i>
[+ ɣ'əd]	i.g.	<i>mailgheadh</i>

Tá an fhoraiil seo imithe ar fad ach amháin iolra *mala*:

11-20 *mailghe* > *mailí* (ach 1 7 22 24 B; 40 46 *mailí* 56 *malatochaí*)

#### 6.6 Foriail 6 do réir IGT: is ionann an fhoraiil seo agus uatha F2 ach amháin u.g. [+ nə]. Tá sí imithe ar fad.

6.7 Foriail 7 do réir IGT: is ionann an fhoraiil seo agus uatha F3 ach amháin u.g. [+ ənn 'ə]. Tá sí imithe ar fad.

6.8 Foriail 8 do réir IGT:

<i>IOLRA</i> [+ θə], [+ θ'ə]	<i>IOLRA</i> <i>teangtha</i> (§ 4)
[+ θəδ], [+ θ'əδ]	i.g. <i>teangthadh</i>
[+ θəv'], [+ θ'əv']	i.r. <i>teangthaibh</i>

Tá *bearna* imithe ón bhforaiil seo ar fad agus tá *slighe* > *slí* imithe ón aicme (ach gan an fhoraiil a chailliúint). De na focail eile a luaitear in IGT, tá an fhoraiil le fáil orthu i gcanúintí na Mumhan fós ach le síneadh + *acha* (lasmuigh d'eisceacht amháin) agus, i gcás 1 22, le síneadh + *acha* agus [r] curtha isteach roimhe (tá eisceacht amháin air seo in 1):

<i>leaba</i> (§ 4)	1-20 23 24 <i>leabthacha</i> > <i>leapacha</i> 22 <i>leapracha</i> (féach 40-56 <i>leapachaí</i> 86 <i>leapacha</i> )
<i>léine</i> (§ 4)	15-20 23 24 <i>léinteacha</i> 1 22 <i>léintreacha</i> (40-56 <i>léinteachaí</i> 40 86 <i>léinte</i> )
<i>teanga</i> (§ 4)	18 23 24 <i>teangthacha</i> 22 <i>teangthracha</i> (ach 1 B, 15 20 <i>teangacha</i> , 7 11 <i>teangaíocha</i> ; féach 40-56 <i>teangaíochaí</i> 86 <i>teangthacha</i> )
<i>tine</i> < <i>teine</i> (§ 4)	7-20 <i>tinteacha</i> 1 <i>tintreacha</i> 24 <i>tinte</i> (40-56 <i>tinteachaí</i> 86 <i>tinteacha</i> )

Agus tá 20 *buaile*:*buailteacha* agus 20 *guala*:*guaille* → *guailteacha* dulta isteach sa bhforaiil seo.

6.9 Foriail 9 do réir IGT: is ionann an fhoraiil seo agus iolra F2 ach amháin go bhfuil i.a. [+ ən'] ann.

Tá *artha* (§ 8) dulta isteach i bhforaiil eile agus tá *eascumha* > *eascú* dulta isteach san aicme dár críoch guta iomlán (gan an fhoraiil a chailliúint, dar ndóigh). Fágann san dhá fhocal:

<i>lacha</i> (§ 6)	1-23 40-86 <i>lachain</i>
<i>comharsa</i> (§ 121)	1 11-22 <i>comharsain</i> (ach 40-86 <i>comharsannaí</i> )

6.10 Foriail 10 do réir IGT:

<i>IOLRA</i> [+n'ə]	<i>IOLRA</i> <i>gaibhne</i> (§ 131) <i>roighne</i> (§ 5)
[+ n'əδ]	i.g. <i>gaibhneadh roighneadh</i>
[+ n'əv']	i.r. <i>gaibhnibh roighnibh</i>
[+ ənn], [+ ən]	i.g. <i>gabhann roghann</i>

Tá *gabha* (§ 131) dulta isteach san aicme dár críoch guta iomlán, ach tá na hiarsmaí seo leanas den fhoraiil le fáil fós:

<i>guala</i> (§ 131)	1-18 <i>guaille</i> (féach 40 46 <i>guailí</i> 86 <i>guailleacha</i> )
<i>ionga</i>	11-18 <i>ingne</i> 1 22-24 <i>ingní</i> 20 <i>ingneacha</i> (féach 40 46 <i>ingne</i> 56 <i>ingní</i> 86 <i>ingneacha</i> )
<i>lorga</i> < <i>lurga</i> (§ 5)	11 15 20 <i>loirgne</i> 18 <i>loirgneacha</i> (ach 1 23 24 B) (féach 40-56 <i>loirgní</i> 86 <i>loirgneacha</i> )

6.11 Foriail 11 do réir IGT: *duine* UATHA: *daoine* IOLRA: *daoinibh* i.r. (§ 79). Maireann an fhoraiail seo: 1-24 40-86 *duine*: 1 7 15-20 23 24 40 46 *daoine* 11 22 40-86 *daoiní*

6.12 Foriail 12 do réir IGT: *giolla* UATHA IOLRA: *giollaibh* i.r.: *gille* u.g. i.a. (§ 80) Tá an fhoraiail seo imithe ar fad.

6.13 Foriail 13 do réir IGT: *caora* UATHA: *caorach* *caoireach* u.g. i.g.: *caoraigh* u.r.: *caoirigh* i.a.: *caorcha* i.c.: *caorchaibh* *caoiribh* i.r.

Maireann an fhoraiail seo: 1-24 40-86 *caora* UATHA  
1-24 *caoireach* 40-86 *caorach* u.g. i.g.  
1 7 15-24 40 46 *caoire* 11 56 86  
*caoirigh* IOLRA

7.0 Fé mar a dúrthas in 3.1 thuas, tá focail fhirinsneach dár chríoch [əδ] > [əɣ] tagaithe isteach san aicme seo i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus deisceart Chonnachta. Maidir leis an uatha, táid dulta isteach sa bhunriail go hiomlán ach amháin in 7-20. Sna háiteanna so, áfach, coimeadadh an chontrárthacht:

+ *adh* [əδ] > [əɣ] > [ə] : + *aidh* [əδ'] > [əɣ'] > [əg']

Agus ina dhiaidh san bhrúigh an fhoraiail nua [+ ə] UATHA: [+ əg'] u.g. isteach i bhfocail fhirinsneach eile:

(a) FOCAIL GUR CÓIR + A: + AIGH DO RÉIR STAIRE IONTU

11 15 *brosnadh* (§ 12) 11 18 *cogadh* (§ 17) 11-20 *deireadh* 11-20 *geimhreadh* (§ 11) 15 *margadh* (ach 20 B) 7-20 *samhradh* (§ 11) 15 *slabhradh* (ach 7 11 18 20 B) 15 20 *smearadh* 15 *troscadh* (ach 20 B)

(b) FOCAIL NACH CÓIR + A: + AIGH DO RÉIR STAIRE IONTU

11 18 20 *barra* < *barr* (§ 96) 11 *bota* 11-20 *geata* 20 *lochta* 11-18 *macha* 11 *siopa* (ach 15 20 B) 7-20 *sneachta*.

Tá iolraí in + *aíocha* (ach 40-56 + *aíochaí* 86 + *aíocha*) le fáil san aicme seo sna canúintí go léir. Ach in 56 86, áiteanna



nach ionann + *a* agus + *adh*, ní fhaghtar iad ach amháin ar ainmfhocail fhirinsneach dár críoch + *adh*. B'fhéidir gur tharla a leithéid seo:

(1) Ón gcontrárthacht + *adh* UATHA: + *aidh* IOLRA chuathas go dtí an chontrárthacht + *adh* UATHA: + *aidhe* IOLRA (féach 2.12 thuas).

(2) I gcásanna áirithe cuireadh síneadh + *eacha* leis an iolra so: + *aidheacha*. Agus as san:

1-24 + *a* UATHA: + *aíocha* IOLRA

40 46 + *a* UATHA: + *aíochaí* IOLRA

58 86 + *adh* UATHA: 86 + *aíocha* 56 + *aíochaí* IOLRA

(a) FOCAIL DÁR CRÍOCH + *ADH*:

<i>deireadh</i>	18 <i>deiríocha</i>
<i>geimhreadh</i> (§ 11)	1 11 20 <i>geimhríocha</i> (ach 15 B; 40 46 <i>geimhríochaí</i> 86 <i>geimhríocha</i> )
<i>samhradh</i> (§ 11)	1 11 20 <i>samhraíocha</i> (ach 15 B; 40 46 <i>samhraíochaí</i> 86 <i>samhraíocha</i> )

(b) FOCAIL DÁR CRÍOCH + *A/E*:

<i>baidhte</i>	1 <i>baidhtíocha</i> (ach 18 22-24 B)
<i>barra</i> < <i>barr</i> (§ 96)	11 20 <i>barraíocha</i> (ach 15 B)
<i>blúire</i>	11 20 22 <i>blúiríocha</i>
<i>cófra</i> (§ 2)	1 <i>córthaíocha</i> (18 22-24 B; féach 40 <i>córthaíochaí</i> )
<i>cósta</i>	18 <i>cóstaíocha</i> (1B)
<i>cúinne</i>	1 11 15 <i>cúinníocha</i> (20 B)
<i>fabhra</i>	18w <i>fabhraíocha</i> (7-15 18s 20 22 B)
<i>fáilte</i>	11 <i>fáiltíocha</i> (15-20 B)
<i>fiolla</i>	23 <i>fiollaíocha</i> (1-22 B)
<i>gála</i>	11 <i>gálaíocha</i> (1 B)
<i>paróiste</i>	18s 11 <i>paróistíocha</i> (1 18w 20 B, 15 <i>paróistithe</i> )
<i>ptiosa</i>	20 <i>ptiosaíocha</i> (1 11-18 23 B)
<i>ribe</i>	1 <i>ribíocha</i> (11 15 B)
<i>scáinne</i>	1 <i>scáinníocha</i> (15 B)
<i>tairnge</i>	1 <i>tarainníocha</i> (11-20 B)

7.1 Tá + *acha* tagaithe isteach mar chomhartha an iolra i roint fhocail, go mórmhór focail a bhain le forialacha 1-10 in IGT. Uaireanta tá + *aíocha* tagaithe isteach níos déanaí agus + *acha* díbeartha aige:

<i>artha</i> (§ 8 F2, F9)	I 18 <i>arthaíocha</i> (féach 40 <i>arthaíochaí</i> )
<i>asna</i> (§ 2 B)	23 24 <i>asnacha</i> I 7 18–22 <i>asnaíocha</i> II 15 B (féach 40–56 <i>asnachaí</i> 86 <i>asnacha</i> )
<i>bearna</i> (§ 4 FI, F8)	15 <i>bearnacha</i> II 20 <i>bearnaíocha</i> I <i>bearnaíonta</i> (féach 40 <i>bearnaí</i> <i>bearnaíochaí</i> )
<i>comhla</i> (§ 7 FI)	20 <i>comhlacha</i> 18 <i>comhlaíocha</i> (féach 40 <i>comhlaíochaí</i> )
<i>comhra</i> (§ 7 FI)	20 23 24 <i>comhracha</i> (ach 18 22 <i>comhranacha</i> 23 24 <i>comhraineacha</i> 20p B)
<i>cuisle</i> (§ 145 F3)	II <i>cuislíocha</i> (ach 15 18 <i>cuisleanna</i> 20 B)
<i>dearna</i> (§ 145 F3)	I <i>dearnatocha</i> (féach 40 <i>dearnachaí</i> )
<i>fiaille</i> < <i>fiadhaile</i> (§ 3 B)	II 15 <i>fiailleacha</i> (ach PB <i>fiailte</i> )
<i>gráinne</i>	II 15 18c <i>gráinneacha</i> I 18w 20–24 <i>gráinníocha</i> 7 B (féach 40 56 <i>gráinn-</i> <i>eachaí</i> 46 <i>gráinníochaí</i> )
<i>inse</i>	20I <i>inseacha</i> 20d <i>instíocha</i>
<i>iomaire</i>	20 <i>iomaireacha</i> I II 15 22–24 B (féach 40 56 <i>iomaireachaí</i> 86 <i>iomair-</i> <i>eacha</i> 46 <i>iomairíochaí</i> )
<i>teanga</i>	15 20 <i>teangacha</i> 7 II <i>teangaíocha</i> (ach 18 24 <i>teangthacha</i> 22 <i>teangthracha</i> I B; féach 40 <i>teangachaí</i> 40–56 <i>teangaíochaí</i> 86 <i>teangthacha</i> )

7.2 (a) Tá focal amháin tagaithe isteach ón aicme dár críoch consan caol agus tá sé soiléir gur thug sé leis an bhunriail nua atá ar ainmfhocail aonsiollach san aicme sin (féach 4.0 thuas):

SEANABHUNRIAIL (§ 93)

BUNRIAIL NUA

*adhaigh:oidhche:oidhche*

*\*adhaigh:oidhche:oidh-*  
*cheanna*

AISTRIÚ AICME

*oidhche:oidhcheanna* (féach  
40 *oiche:oicheannaí*)

Ach sna canúintí go léir tá + *eanna* díbeartha ag + *eanta* (ach amháin 40).

I–24 40–56 *oiche*: I–24 *oicheanta* 40–56 *oicheantaí*

(b) Tá ceithre focail in I agus faghtar + *aíonta* mar iolra orthu (féach 3.3 thuas):

*bearna:bearnaíonta coirce:coircíonta eorna:eornaíonta*  
*iothla:iothlaíonta*

(c) Tá iolra [+ srónach déadach + əxə] le fáil i bhfo-fhocal baininsneach:

<i>comhra</i> (§ 7 F1)	18 22 <i>comhranacha</i> 23 24 <i>comhraineacha</i>
<i>guala</i> (§ 131 F3, 10)	22 <i>gualanacha</i> 23 24 <i>gualaineacha</i>
<i>mala</i> (§ 193 F5)	22 <i>malanacha</i>
<i>uille</i> (§ 145 F3)	11 15 <i>uillinne</i> 1 20 <i>uillinneacha</i> (féach 40 46 <i>uillinneachaí</i> 86 <i>uilleannacha</i> )

7.3 Tá fo-fhocal gur cuireadh [t] isteach san iolra idir [l] nó [n] agus an t-iarmhír:

<i>baile</i> (§ 2)	20 <i>bailti</i> 1 11 15 <i>bailtíocha</i> (40 86 <i>bailte</i> 56 <i>bailti</i> 40 46 <i>bailteachaí</i> )
<i>béile</i>	1 <i>méiltíocha</i> (ach 11 15 B)
<i>buille</i>	1 <i>builtíocha</i> (ach 15 18 B)
<i>míle</i> (fad)	1 11 15 20 <i>míltí</i> (ach 1 15 18 20 <i>mílte</i> '1000')
<i>tráthnóna</i>	11–20 <i>tráthnóntaí</i> (ach 1 B)
<i>tuile</i>	20 <i>tuilte</i> 22 <i>tuiltí</i> 1 11 18 <i>tuiltíocha</i> (féach 40 <i>tuiltí</i> )

7.4 I roint bheag focail faghtar [+ əh'ə] mar chomhartha an iolra gcanúintí áirithe (1 7 15 18 23). Is dócha go bhfuil comparáid le déanamh leis an iolra a luadh in 5.4. thuas:

<i>eachtra</i>	18 <i>eachtraithe</i> (1 B)
<i>iascaire</i>	18 <i>iascairithe</i> (1 11–15 20–24 B)
<i>paróiste</i>	15 <i>paróistithe</i> (1 18w 20 B, 11 18 <i>paróistíocha</i> )
<i>scoláire</i>	7 <i>scoláirithe</i> (1 11–24 B, 20 <i>scoláiríos</i> )
<i>seaga</i>	1 7 <i>seagaithe</i> (11 18 B)
<i>siabhra</i>	1 7 <i>siabhraithe</i> (15 18 23 B)
<i>siopa</i>	1 18 23 <i>siopaithe</i> (11 15 20 B)

7.5 Dhá ainm bhriathardha atá dulta isteach sa chaint mar ghnáth ainmfhocail agus go raibh F2 orthu san aicme dár críoch consa leathan, tá iolra fé leith orthu anois do réir rialacha an aicme dár críoch:

<i>briseadh</i>	20 24 <i>bristí</i> (22 B)
<i>pósadh</i>	1 15 18w <i>póstaí</i> 18s <i>póstaíocha</i> 11 20 <i>póstaíocha</i> > <i>pósaíochta</i>

7.6 *Scoláire*—tá dhá iolra air in 20:

(1) bunriail: *na scoláirí bochta*

(2) + *íos* : *is beag an tamall a chaitheas i measc na scoláirí*  
(= páistí scoile)

## 8-9: AINMFHOCAIL DÁR CRÍOCH GUTA IOMLÁN.

## 8.0 Is í bunriail an aicme seo do réir IGT ná:

[ø]	UATHA	<i>cnú</i> (98), <i>ré</i> (99)
[+ ə]	IOLRA	<i>cnúa rée</i>
[+ əδ], [ø]*	i.g.	<i>cnú réeadh</i> (*i ndiaidh guta leathan)
[+ əv']	i.r.	<i>cnúaibh réeibh</i>

Níl fágtha den bhunriail seo sna canúintí ach an t-uatha. Maidir leis an iolra, tá na hainmfhocail ilsiollach go léir dulta isteach i Fí (8.1 thíos) agus tá + *anna* tagaithe isteach mar chomhartha an iolra ar na hainmfhocail aonsiollach:

<i>ae</i>	I II-20 <i>aenna</i> (ach 23 24 <i>aet</i> )
<i>bia</i> < <i>biadh</i> (§ 76)	7 <i>bianna</i> (féach 40 <i>biannaí</i> )
<i>bogha</i> (§ 2)	15 <i>boghanna</i> (ach II <i>boghathacha</i> 20 <i>boghaite</i> )
<i>bui</i>	I <i>buionna</i> (féach 46 <i>buit</i> : <i>buintaí</i> )
<i>caoi</i>	20 <i>caonna</i> (féach 40 <i>caonnaí</i> )
<i>cé</i>	I 15 <i>céanna</i>
<i>cnea</i> < <i>cneadh</i> (§ 39)	II <i>cneathanna</i> (ach 18 20 <i>cneathacha</i> )
<i>cnó</i> (§ 83 <i>cnú</i> )	15 18 <i>cnóanna</i> (ach I <i>cnóite</i> ; féach 40 86 <i>cnuthannaí</i> )
<i>crot</i> < <i>croidhe</i> (§ 2)	I <i>croionna</i> (ach II <i>croithe</i> 15 <i>crathacha</i> ; 40 46 <i>croite</i> )
<i>fea</i> < <i>feadh</i> (§ 95)	I II 20 <i>feathanna</i> (ach 18 <i>fed</i> 20 <i>feathaibh</i> ; 40-56 <i>feánnaí</i> )
<i>fia</i> < <i>fiadh</i>	15 <i>fianna</i> (féach 40 <i>fiannaí</i> )
<i>ga</i> (§ 81)	20 <i>gathanna</i>
<i>gé</i> < <i>géadh</i> (§ 61)	I-20 <i>géanna</i> (ach 22 <i>géios</i> 23 24 <i>gét</i> )
<i>grua</i> < <i>gruadh</i> (§ 39)	15 <i>gruanna</i>
<i>lua</i> < <i>luaidhe</i>	18 <i>luanna</i> (ach I <i>luaití</i> ; 40 <i>luantaí</i> 56 <i>luaidheantaí</i> )
<i>má</i>	15 <i>mánna</i> (ach 7 20 <i>maíte</i> )
<i>mí</i> (§ 97)	I II 15 20 <i>míonna</i> (féach 40 46 <i>míonnaí</i> 56 <i>míosaicht</i> ! 86 <i>míte</i> )
<i>slea</i> < <i>sleagh</i> (§ 39)	18 20 <i>sleathanna</i> (ach I <i>sleaithe</i> ; féach 40 <i>sleacha</i> )
<i>tua</i> < <i>tuagh</i> (§ 39)	II 15 <i>tuanna</i> (ach I 20 <i>tuaite</i> ; féach 40 <i>tuannaí</i> 86 <i>tuacha</i> )

## 8.1 Foriail I do réir IGT:

IOLRA	[+ θ'ə]	IOLRA	<i>draoithe</i> (§ 85)
	[+ θ'əδ]	i.g.	<i>draoitheadh</i>
	[+ θ'əv']	i.r.	<i>draoithibh</i>



Bhí foriail chosúil le fáil ar roint de na hainmfhocail dár críoch consan leathan nó dár críoch a tháinig isteach san aicme seo (§ 4 *slighe:slighthe*, PB *gréasaighe:gréasaighthe*). Tá sí leathnaithe amach go fairsing i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach go háirithe agus bunriail isea í anois ar na hainmfhocail ilsíollach den aicme seo agus “comhbhunriail” ar na hainmfhocail aonsíollach. Tá cúpla pointe foghraíochta le tabhairt fé ndeara:

(1) [c + u:/i:] + [t’ə] → [c + it’ə]

(2) [. . . + guta fada] + [h’ə] → [. . . . + h’ə]

Is í foirm na rialach:

AONSIOLLACH

[ø] UATHA:[+ t’ə] IOLRA

ISIOLLACH

[ø] UATHA:[+ h’ə] IOLRA

(a) Focail aonsíollach:

<i>bogha</i> (§ 2)	20 <i>boghaite</i> (ach 11 <i>boghathacha</i> 15 B)
<i>bró</i> (§ 84)	1 18w 20 24 <i>bróite</i> (ach 11 15 18c 22 <i>bróinte</i> ; féach 40 56 <i>bróiti</i> 46 86 <i>bróite</i> 40–86 <i>bróinte</i> , 56 <i>bróintí</i> )
<i>cnó</i> (§ 83)	1 <i>cnóite</i> (15 18 B; 40 86 <i>cnuthanna</i> )
<i>cró</i> (§ 87)	1 15–20 <i>cróite</i> (40 <i>cróiti</i> <i>croí</i> <i>croiti</i> 86 <i>cróite</i> )
<i>croí</i> < <i>croidhe</i> (§ 2)	11 <i>croithe</i> (1 B, 15 <i>crathacha</i> )
<i>cruí</i>	1–24 <i>cruite</i> (40 <i>cruiti</i> <i>cruí</i> <i>cruife</i> 46 <i>cruithe</i> 56 <i>cruithí</i> <i>cruiti</i> 86 <i>cruitheacha</i> )
<i>cú</i> (§ 21)	20 <i>cuite</i> (ach 1 24 <i>cuinte</i> 15 23 <i>cuin</i> 40 <i>cúinnaí</i> <i>cúiti</i> )
<i>dlí</i> < <i>dligheadh</i>	1 11 <i>dlite</i> 15 <i>dlithe</i> (foirm liteardha?)
<i>dorú</i> < <i>dorgha</i>	7 <i>dró:dróite</i> 20–24 <i>drú:druite</i> 11 <i>draoi:draoithe</i> 1 <i>dró:doirithe</i> 18 <i>drú:doirithe</i> (féach 46 <i>drú:druife</i> 56 <i>drú:druithí</i> <i>druiti</i> )
<i>guí</i> < <i>guidhe</i>	1 <i>guite</i>
<i>lao</i> < <i>laogh</i> (§ 96)	11 <i>laoithe</i> (ach 1 20–24 <i>laoi</i> ; 40 46 <i>laontaí</i> 86 <i>laoithe</i> )
<i>má</i>	7 20 <i>máite</i> (15 B)
<i>ní</i>	15 18c <i>nithe</i> (18w <i>nathacha</i> sic!; 86 <i>neathannaí</i> )
<i>ré</i> (an tsléibhe, § 98)	1 <i>réite</i>

<i>ri</i> (§ 21)	I II-20 23 24 <i>rite</i> (40-56 <i>rití</i> 86 <i>rite</i> )
<i>slí</i> < <i>slighe</i> (§ 4)	I II-20 <i>slite</i> (ach 40 <i>slionnaí</i> )
<i>slua</i> < <i>sluagh</i> (§ 96)	I II 15 20 <i>sluaite</i> (40 <i>sluaite</i> 86 <i>slóite</i> )
<i>tlí</i>	I 8 20 <i>tluite</i>
<i>tua</i> < <i>tuagh</i> (§ 39)	I 20 <i>tuaite</i> (II 15 B; 40 <i>tuannaí</i> 86 <i>tuacha</i> )

## (b) Focail ilsiollach:

I 5-20 <i>ainmhi</i> I 5 <i>athchuíni</i> I II 15 20 <i>ceardaí</i> 20 <i>cuiri</i> II-18 <i>comrádaí</i> I-18 <i>fiagaí</i> II 20 <i>gadaí</i> I-24 <i>garraí</i> 20 <i>leathlaoi</i> I-24 <i>gréasaí</i> I II 15 <i>sclábhaí</i> I 5 <i>seandraoi</i> I 5 <i>snámhaí</i> I II 15 20 <i>tiománaí</i> I-22 <i>tionóntaí</i> I 5 <i>urnaí</i> I 7 15 18 <i>turcaí</i> (ach 20 <i>turcaíos</i> )	
<i>finné</i>	20 <i>finnithe</i>
<i>gírrfhia</i> < <i>gírrfhiadh</i>	I II-24 <i>gírrfhithe</i>
<i>simné</i>	I <i>simnithe</i> (ach II-18 <i>simnéith-eacha</i> 20 <i>simnéithí</i> )

Tá fo-fhocal go bhfuil an t-iarmhír seo air le síneadh + *acha* nó + *i*:

<i>Ath Rua</i>	20 <i>logainm Áth Ruaití</i>
<i>bogha</i> (§ 2)	II <i>boghathacha</i>
<i>clai</i> < <i>cloidhe</i> (§ 2)	I-22 <i>cloidhtheacha</i> > <i>clathacha</i> 23 24 <i>cloidhtheacha</i> > <i>cluthacha</i> (féach 40-56 <i>cloidhe:cloidheachaí</i> )
<i>ceirí</i>	I II 15 <i>ceiritheacha</i>
<i>cnea</i> < <i>cneadh</i> (§ 39)	I 8-20 <i>cneathacha</i>
<i>croí</i> < <i>croidhe</i> (§ 2)	I 5 <i>croidhtheacha</i> > <i>crathacha</i>
<i>lua</i> < <i>luaidhe</i>	I <i>luaití</i>
<i>simné</i>	II-18 <i>simnéitheacha</i> 20 <i>simnéithí</i>

## 8.2 Forail 2 do réir IGT:

[ø]	UATHA	<i>cú</i> (§ 21) <i>mí</i> (§ 97)
[+ c]	u.g. i.g.	<i>con míos</i>
[+ c']	u.r. i.a.f.	<i>coin mís</i>
[+ c + ə]	IOLRA	<i>cona míosa</i>
[+ c + əv']	i.r.	<i>conaibh míosaibh</i>

Den fhorail seo níl fágtha i gcanúintí na Mumhan ach an focal *cú* agus iarsmaí na forialach air:

I 5 *cú* UATHA:con u.g.: *cuin* IOLRA  
 I 24 *cú* UATHA:cuinte [kint'ə] IOLRA  
 23 *cú* UATHA:cuin IOLRA

- 8.3 Foriail 3 do réir IGT: *draoi* UATHA:*druadh* u.g.:*draoidh* u.r.  
*draoidhe* IOLRA:*draoidheadh* *druadh*  
i.g.:*draoidhibh* i.r.

Agus mar an gcéanna do *daoí saoi*. Tá an fhorail seo imithe ar fad.

- 8.4 Foriail 4 do réir IGT: *bró* UATHA:*brón* u.g. i.g.: *bróin* u.r.:  
*bróinte* IOLRA:*bróinteadh* i.g.: *bróintibh*  
i.r.

Tá an fhorail seo fágtha in áiteanna:

11 15 18c 22 *bró* UATHA:  
*bróinte* IOLRA (ach 1 18w 20 24 Fr)  
(féach 40 46 86 *bróinte* 56 *bróintí*)

- 8.5 Foriail 5 do réir IGT: *bó* UATHA i.g.:*boin* u.r.:  
*ba bai* i.a.:*bú* i.c.:*buaibh* i.r.

Tá cuid den fhorail seo fágtha ins gach aon áit:

(a) 11 18 86 *bó* UATHA:*buin* u.r.: *ba* IOLRA—agus  
11 18 *buaibh* i.r.

(b) 15 56 *bó* UATHA i.g.: *ba* IOLRA—agus 15  
*buaibh* i.r.

(c) 1 7 20–24 40 46 *bó* UATHA:*ba* IOLRA  
Agus féach an fhoirm *buaibh* IOLRA a  
chuala i scéal ag Dónall Ó Mistéala  
(“Dangle”) as Dún Chaoin (20): *do*  
*dh’fhágamair na buaibh ar an mbóthar.*

- 8.6 Foriail 6 do réir IGT: *cnú* UATHA i.c.:*cnó* u.g. i.g.:*cnaoi* u.r.:  
*cna cnaí* i.a.:*cnoibh cnaibh* i.r.

Tá an fhorail seo imithe ar fad.

- 8.7 Foriail 7 do réir IGT: *cró* UATHA i.g.:*crú* u.r.:*craoi* u.g. i.a.:  
*crúa* i.c.:*craicheadh* i.g.:*craoibh* i.r.

Tá an fhorail seo imithe ar fad.

- 8.8 Foriail 8 do réir IGT: *ga* UATHA i.g. i.a.:*gaoi* i.a.:*gó* i.c.:  
*gaoibh* i.r.

Tá an fhorail seo imithe ar fad.

- 8.9 Foriail 9 do réir IGT: *lá* UATHA i.g.:*laoi* u.g. i.a.:*ló* u.r.:*lóa*  
i.c.:*laoibh* i.r.

Tá iolra na forialach so imithe agus an tseanafhorail 1 (le  
sineadh) tagaithe isteach ina háit:

1-24 *lá* UATHA:*lae* u.g.:

*laethanta* IOLRA (féach 40-86 *lá:lae*:

*laethantaí* agus 40 *laethannaí* leis)

Tá foirm chalcaithe u.r. *ló* le fáil in 11-20 sa *ló*.

8.10 Foriail 10 do réir IGT: *aoi* IOLRA: *ó* i.c.:*aoibh* i.r.

Tá an focal so *ae* dulta isteach sa bhunriail in 1-20 (23 24 féach 9.1)

8.11 Foriail 11 do réir IGT: *ó* UATHA i.g.:*ú* u.r. IOLRA:*í* u.g. i.a.:*ibh* i.r.

Níl fágtha den fhorail seo ach 1-24 *ó* UATHA: *uí* u.g.—agus an fhoirm chalcaithe *ibh* i logainmeacha (*Íbh Ráthach* 7rl.)

9.0 Focail atá tagaithe isteach san aicme seo ón aicme dár críoch consan leathan agus ón aicme dár críoch *ə* isea cuid mhaith de na focail atá le fáil san aicme seo i gcanúintí an lae inniu. Gan dabht tá forialacha a bhaineann lena seana-aicmí tagaithe isteach ina dteanta:

(a) [ø] UATHA:[+ g'] u.g.

*Áth Rua* < *Áth Ruadh* 20 *Áth Ruaidh*

*mada rua* < *madra ruadh* 11-20 *mada ruaidh* (ach 1 B; féadh 86 *madadh rua:mada ruaidh*)

*slua* < *sluagh* (§ 96) 15 *sluaigh* (ach 1 B)

Agus i bhfocail ná fuil sé “cóir do réir staire” iontu:

*ceo* (§ 108) 7-20 *ceoigh* (ach 1 23 B)

*pd* < *paighe* 15-20 *paigh* (ach 1 B)

*seó* (< show) 20 *seóigh*

(a) [ø] UATHA:[+ g'] u.r.b.

*tua* < *tuagh* (§ 39) 15-20 *tuaigh* (ach 1 11 23 B)

(c) UATHA:u.g.f.

*bia* < *biadh* (§ 76) 11-20 *bíd* 1 23 *bí* (féach 86 *bia:bí*)

*dia* 1 11 15 20 24 *dé* (féach 40 *dé*)

*gnó* 11-18 *gnótha*

*lao* < *laogh* (§ 96) 1 11 20 23 *laoi* [li:]

(d) [ø] UATHA:[+ n] u.g.b.:[+ n'] u.r.b.

*ceathrú* < *ceathramha* (§ 9) 18 20 *ceathrún ceathrúin* 1 *ceathrún*

*eascú* < *eascumha* (§ 6) 11-18 *eascún eascúin* 1 20 23 24 *eascún* (féach 1 11-20 *an t-eascú mór, ceann na heascún*)

*lánú* < *lánamha* (§ 9) 18 *lánún lánúin*





## FOCAL SCOIR

0.0 Cad í an éabhlóid atá le tabhairt fé ndeara idir an pointe gur leagadh síos rialacha IGT agus an pointe go bhfuil canúintí na Mumhan fé láthair, ó thaobh infhilleadh na n-ainmfhocal de? Chun freagra a thabhairt ar an gceist seo, ní mór dhúinn féachaint uirthi ar dhá leibhéal: leibhéal an struchtúir agus leibhéal na gcontrárthachtaí foghraíoch a úsáidtear chun contrárthachtaí an struchtúir a léiriú.

0.1 Ar leibhéal an struchtúir, tá sé soiléir ná fuil sna tuisil ach iarsmaí. Ord na bhfocal i ngrúpa an ainmfhocail, foirm an ailt agus córas chlaochlú thús an fhocail—deineann siad so an chúis go rí-mhaith gan aon chabhair ón infhilleadh. Níl aon fhás tagaithe ar chóras na dtuiseal, mar sin, ach a mhalairt—tá canúintí ná fuil fágtha iontu ach cúpla réamhfhoclach uatha, tá cinn eile ná fuil aon ghinideach iolra acu—agus mar sin. Níl an meath dulta i bhfeidhm ar aon tslí ins gach aon chanúint ná ins gach aon áit sa chóras, ach níl aon chanúint ná aon áit sa chóras ná fuil sé le feiscint. Is mar a chéile an scéal i gcanúintí na Mumhan agus ins na canúintí eile.

Ar an dtaobh eile, tá fás mór tagaithe ar an gcontrárthacht uatha: iolra. Tá pátrúin infhillte le fáil in IGT gurb ionann bunuatha agus buniolra iontu—tá a leithéid imithe ar fad. Tá pátrúin eile, agus ní beag iad, gurb ionann an ginideach uatha agus an ginideach iolra iontu—níl fágtha díobh san ach *caora* agus, i gcanúintí áirithe, *bó comharsa eascú lacha*. Tá pátrúin eile gurb ionann an ginideach uatha agus an buniolra iontu—níl fágtha díobh súd ach bunriail na n-ainmfhocail fhirinscneach dár críoch consan leathan. Ar an dtaobh eile, déarfá ná fuil aon teora le raidhse chomharthaí an iolra—iolraí simplí “clasaiceach”, iolraí sínte, dúbalta, ceann acu ná beadh le fáil ach i bhfo-fhocal, ceann eile ná beadh le fáil ach i gcanúint amháin, ceann eile arís a bheadh le fáil ó Thír Chonaill go dtí Cléire.

0.2 Maidir leis na contrárthachtaí foghraíoch, sé sin le rá na hiarmhíreanna atá tagaithe i réim chun an iolra a mharcáil, is iad so na cinn is tábhachtaí:

(1) + *anna* atá tagaithe isteach mar iarmhír an iolra ar ainmfhocail aonsiollach sna canúintí go léir (ach + *annaí* a fhoirm lasmuigh de Chúige Mumhan)—mar bhunriail ar na hainmfhocail aonsiollach dár críoch consan caol nó guta iomlán agus mar fhorriail thábhachtach ar na hainmfhocail aonsiollach dár críoch consan leathan.

- (2) + *í* atá tagaithe isteach mar bhunriail an iolra ar na hainmfhocail dár críoch sna canúintí go léir, mar bhunriail an iolra ar na hainmfhocail ilsíollach dár críoch consan leathan i gcanúintí na Mumhan (agus ar chuid díobh sna canúintí eile) agus mar fhorriail thábhachtach ar ainmfhocail ilsíollach dár críoch consan leathan.
- (3) + *acha* atá tagaithe isteach mar fhorriail thábhachtach ins na haicmí go léir ach amháin san aicme dár críoch guta iomlán.
- (4) + *aíocha* atá tagaithe isteach mar fhorriail thábhachtach san aicme dár críoch ə.

## ALAN MAC AN BHAIRD

*Institiúid Ardléinn Bhaile Átha Cliath*

## AGUISÍN: COMHFHREAGARTHACHT NA RIALACHA LE RANNA IGT

1. *Ainmfhocail dár críoch consan leathan*

B: f 11 15 16 17 22 36 64 70 73 96 103 104 125 134 138 153 182 198 204

b 12 18 19 40 56 57 147 157 158 165 172 179 195 196 197 199 206

F1: f 58 61 63 65 67 68 69 74 171

F2: f 24 29 71 72 95 b 26

F3: b 185

F5: f 19

F6: b 156

F7: b 37 190

F9: f 176

F12: f 23 53 55 173 b 54

F13: f 94

F14: f 21

F15: b 183

F16: f 177

F17: b 59 116–119 127 132 136 137 139 141 142 146 170

F18: b 133

*Forialacha curtha le chéile*

[F6 + F13] f 109 128 140 155

[F9 + F12] f 31

[F7 + F13] f 66

[F10 + F12] f 30

[F8 + F12] f 31

*Malartú rialacha*

B nó F1 f 75 76

B nó [F6 + F513] f 35

B nó F1 nó F2 f 62

B nó F7 b 192

nó F1 nó F13 f 88	B nó [F7 + F11] b 130
nó F2 f 25 27 28 38 70 100	B nó F6 f 114
f 159 b 39	B nó [F8 + F12] f 44 101
nó F2 nó [F8 + F12] f 46	B nó F12 f 88
(F2 u roghnach) f 110	F1 nó [F1 + F13] f 178
nó [F2 + F11] f 47 49 105 106	F3 nó F7 b 161
nó [F2 + F11] nó [F8 + F12] f 48	F4 nó F12 b 162
nó F5 f 51 194	[F8 + F12] nó F12 f 102 107

*Ainmfhocail dár críoch consan caol*

f 112 b 13 14 93 144 150 154 bf 113  
: f 34 41 b 10 124 135 148 149 175 181 189 200  
: b 120  
: b 191  
: f 207

*rialacha curtha le chéile*

[F2 + F9] b 193 [F6 + F1 i.] b 187

*alartú rialacha*

nó F1 b 43 166	B nó F7 f 89
nó F1 u. f 111	F1 u. f 91
nó F1 u. nó F2 f 50	F1 i. b 115
nó F2 b 186	F1 nó F2 b 151 161
nó F2 u. nó F3 u. f 122	F1 nó F4 b 201
nó F3 f 33 b 163 184	F1 nó F8 b 42
nó F6 b 129	F1 u. nó F8 b 92
nó [F6 + F8] f 52	F6 nó [F6 + F8] nó [F6 + F3 i.] bf 32

*Ainmfhocail dár críoch a*

f 2 80 b 3 20 126 152 bf 1  
: f 21 b 7 160 167  
: b 143  
: bf 6 8 131  
: fb 123 193  
1: f 79 205  
2: f 80  
3: b 202

*rialacha curtha le chéile*

[F3 u. + F10] b 131  
1 u. + F8] b 4  
2 u + F9] b 6 8



*Malartú rialacha*

F2 nó F3 nó F7 nó [F2u + F9] b 121  
 F2 nó F4 f 188

F2 nó F6 b 9  
 F3 nó F7 b 145

4. *Ainmfhocail dár críoch guta'iomlán.*

B: f 108 bf 98 99  
 F2: b 97 174 bf 21  
 F4: f 84  
 F5: b 86  
 F6: b 83 203  
 F10: f 180  
 F11: f 168 169

*Malartú rialacha*

F1 nó F8 f 81  
 F3 nó [F3 u + F1] f 85

F7 nó [F7 u + F1] f 87  
 F9 nó [F9 u + F1] f 82

## VARIA

### 1. On the fundamental IE orientation

IT is well known that the points of the compass are named with the participant facing east, i.e. north = left, south = right, west = behind, east = forward. To this we find a perfect correspondence in the hierarchy of Dumézilian functions applying to the partitioning of Ireland (A. Rees and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage*, 122ff.): *ffis* (druids) in the west, *cath* (warriors) in the north, *bláth* (vaiśyas) in the east, *seís* (craftsmen) in the south. Qualitatively this circuit starts with the highest social order and moves clockwise (the "correct" direction) to the lowest, as Rees and Rees following Dumézil point out. An essential additional factor in the formulation is however the observation that this circuit is made from the vantage point of the west, i.e. when standing facing east; for we shall see that the basing point for such orientations is best pictured as viewed by the participant surveying the field in question.

1. Rees and Rees observe (132-3) that the Indic orientation of dispositions for the royal fort matches this Irish orientation perfectly, but that the basing point in India is the north. "The evidence at our disposal does not enable us to account for this difference." (132). We should note that this is a publication of 1961. It is clear from their Note 32, pp. 382 and 383, that they were under the impression, as so many of us were for so long (nearly a century), that the Irish occupants of a chariot, like their Indic warrior cousins, were (although the texts didn't say that) placed with the warrior to the left of his charioteer.

It was one of the great services of M. A. O'Brien to show (*Celtica* 3, 1956, 170) through his ingenious etymology of the pair *eirr* and *arae* that we must accept the fact that the Irish chariot warrior sat to the rear of his charioteer. More recently David Greene has further clarified the situation (*Ériu* 21, 1969, 94-8) by showing that *faitsel/fochlai* (\**wodeksijon/woklijon*) in historic time meant only 'south/north', and that the old meaning \*'right/left' had been lost. Greene has astutely wrung sufficient clarification from the one passage formerly claimed to support a meaning of 'right/left' to show that this passage is simply obscure. As Greene forcefully argues, O'Brien's positioning of the two men in the chariot is surely upheld.

Greene concludes with the remark "The connection with India vanishes." It seems to me instead that upon reflexion O'Brien and

Greene have opened up for us an avenue of explanation perhaps much more interesting than if we had been simply left with a frontal similarity in chariot seating shared by Ireland and India such as the Zimmer-Thurneysen theory would yield. If we turn to the two diagrams presented by Rees and Rees p. 133 and superimpose on them a plan of their respective chariot seatings, an interesting agreement emerges. That is to say, in each case we orient the chariot so that the fighter and charioteer are in the corresponding positions allotted to functions II and IV respectively. Then with Indic warrior on the left and Irish warrior behind, the chariot remains in fixed position with the occupants facing south and their backs to the north.

With this adjustment, then, the occupants of the chariot are facing south just as was the *fochla féinneadh* 'champion's seat' and its Old Icelandic equivalent (Greene op. cit.), and as Rees and Rees (382) adduce that Numa did at his inauguration. Rees and Rees (loc. cit.) refer to the north and the left also as the places reserved for the burial of the least privileged dead. In short, it seems that a well-omened IE chariot should face south, *fa-des* or in older parlance *faitse*.

On the other hand within such a nomenclatural system it makes sense when the auspicious south is the *dess* or *right*. But such a terminology in turn is based on orienting oneself facing east. How then are we to reconcile these two separate orientations? It seems to me that there is a clear common-sense answer here: In an agrarian and pastoral society the best way to establish a standard is to fix on a constant event, e.g. the rising sun at dawn. Thus the procedure of facing east, and inter alia establishing south as right, was, if you will, a calibration or defining procedure. The concept of facing south—this is not the place to attempt to consider how these Northern people regarded the sun, moon, etc.—was a component in a belief system of spiritual or magical values. I therefore propose that for IE culture the act of facing east and its terminological consequences was a procedure of practicality drawn from the real world around those people; the notion of sitting to the north and facing south, to the *right* and the auspicious, was an abstract construct belonging to the value system. The most important, most highly valued orientation in IE culture, then, was southwards.

We may now come back to ask how it was that in Ireland the hierarchy of the social functions seems to have accorded pride of place to the west facing east. And this brings us back to our chariot once again. If the Celts had started out with the general IE southward-value concept but had changed their chariot seating from the "Indic" plan to the one that we know, they would then have been obliged to rotate the "square" of functions one place to the left in order to

preserve semantic consistency within this scheme. It is significant not only that the place of honour in a hall or house remained north, facing south; the fact that this was the champion's seat agrees with the new position assumed by function II. We are led then to suppose that the observed change in social values assigned to the compass directions reflects a change in the cultural system of chariot seating. Is this according too much importance to a single artifact such as the chariot? I think not. For recent mention of the importance of carts and mobility to the rapid expansion and success of IE culture see, for example, Marija Gimbutas, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 1, 1973, 155-214. We know, too, of the importance of wagons to the Hallstatt people who included them in their burials; and of course the light two-wheeled early Celtic chariot is striking and famous (e.g. Anne Ross, *Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts*, 1970, 76-81). This major change in a key technology could have had important and broad cultural repercussions. For a searching exploration of this changing technology and its presumed attendant terminology see most recently David Greene's contribution to *The Iron Age in the Irish Sea Province*: C.B.A. Research Report 9 (1972) 59-73.

We may now profitably return to the terms for the compass points, and it occurs to us to wonder how it was, if the IE terms WERE derived from personal orientation looking east, the Celtic languages preserved these terms so faithfully. It may well be that the technologically triggered shift hypothesized above had the side effect, once the place of function I had been moved to the west, of investing the old frame of calibration with a new reinforcing value purport that gave new life to these inherited terms of direction. That is, *dess/faitse* 'south' came to mean *dess* 'right' from a fresh point of view (and so on for the others) when viewed from function I in the west.

2. Is it accident that in placing important dwellings or headquarters at the boundaries of their territories the Uí Tuirtri and the Romans chose the NORTHERN border (see Pádraig Ó Riain, *Studia Celtica* 7, 1972, 22-3)? I am indebted to Geraint Gruffydd for calling my attention to Ó Riain's whole discussion of the rôle of borders in connexion with my proposed explanation of the term *Lloegr*, *Studia Celtica* (forthcoming). Ó Riain's brief reference at the end of his paper (28-9) to a Lévi-Straussian mediation concept, bridging the contradiction of two opposites, is an interesting one and would certainly seem applicable and plausible in the context of certain mythic explications. But in the disposition of geographic boundary phenomena I should prefer to see an explanation rooted in more specific cultural features. It would make very good sense—and say



something important—to find that many middle points were not so much umbilici or omphaloi as intersections of boundaries, as Uisnech and Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire seem to have been. Therefore just as with *Mide* (Meath) = *Madhya-pradeśa* and the commote of Perfedd (extending WEST from Pumlumon; cf. A. and B. Rees 175–6) we may be entitled to look for a Celtic calqued survival in *Middlesex* and for an old meeting point of boundaries in the *perfedd* of the Island of Britain where the FOREIGN dragon of Lludd and Llefelys was fought. In this connexion it may also be not without relevance that confluences (*Koblenz*, *Kemper* 'Quimper', *Condate* 'Rennes') figure noticeably in Celtic toponomastics; this could well be another aspect of the correlation of many Welsh cantref and commote boundaries with an *aber*. In short, any meeting point of boundaries had a potential importance; boundaries of course almost inevitably occur, and it is not just that they exist but what people do with and about them. I would find it interesting, for example, if in addition to being a sort of "cosmic" transition boundaries could also be shown to have been exploited chiefly at their intersections (yielding "mid-points") or on their northern (or, for the Celts, on their western) perimeter. I find it striking, for example, to note on a recent visit to Maiden Castle that the remains of the foundations of the small sanctuary on the top of the inner hill appear to be located towards the northern perimeter of the hilltop. One may note here, in passing that Tempall Benén (St. Benignus), Aranmore Co. Galway, is oriented north-south.

3. It is also reasonable for a midpoint established by intersection, as just referred to, to coincide with an omphalos defined on some other cultural conceptual plan. So it has been assumed with Uisnech, in its rôle as a hearthfire center; see A. and B. Rees 156–7, 162–3. The functional comparison of Uisnech with the Vestal fire and the round Vedic householder's hearth, kindled with a fire-drill, is certainly compelling. A. and B. Rees 175 entertain the possibility that *Pumlumon* could have meant 'Five Banners'; so it may have seemed synchronically at some stages to Welsh speakers, but it seems to me that the old meaning is clearly 'Five Chimneys'.<sup>1</sup> I would propose

<sup>1</sup> This meaning was made clear and virtually certain by Sir Ifor Williams in an accessible form in his *Enwau Lleuoedd* (Lerpwl 1945) 19 (p. 20–1 of the 1962 reprint), where the attested variants are recorded, *Pumlumon Pymlumon Plymlymon*. The first two, as Sir Ifor notes, are quite in order and explicable within the known development of Welsh; I do not see how we can feel sure which of these two is prior (since arguments of assimilation or rule-governed reshaping could be constructed in either direction), but as time passed and the model of the compound *pymthec* '15' became more distant it would be less likely that the variant in *Pym-* would be fashioned afresh. Now we know from the episode in Branwen, for example (PKM 47–8), that the lore of the five parts of Iwerddon was known in Wales. The form of *Plymlymon*, attested from 1590, shows that by that time in that source no connexion was made either with '5' (or with *llumon*; for in order to explain what must surely be a bidirectional assimilation I assume that this last was phonetically [plēmlemon], resting on the second named

that the CHIMNEY here is precisely the HEARTH of Uisnech and of its Roman and Vedic counterparts. The significance of the PUMP *Uumon* lies exactly in the superposition of the 5-province (cum *perfedd*) scheme on the omphalos-hearth concept. In other words, while the geographic position of Pumlumon in relation to the territorial structure of Wales and the significant element *pum-* locate this feature where we find it, the semantics of *-lumon* exactly mirror those of the hearth and fire of Uisnech, the *aedes Vestae* and *ignis Vestae*, and the Brahmanic *garhapatya*. In fact it seems to me that this is more literally true than has been supposed on whatever grounds for the word *Uumon*; the functional equivalence just drawn brings out an etymology which is really latent within the attested Welsh lexicon. The word for 'ashes' *Uudw*, more originally *Uudu* (*luaith*, *luaithred*, *luaithne*), is clearly an old phrase \**Lūd + dub* 'black-ash'. It appears that *Uumon* must be a parallel formation; for one thing it is tempting to relate the first syllable to *luaith* with which it finds a natural fit, and for another there would then be a plausible motivation for the development of the complex specifying

variant as an earlier form. The English form current today is of course *Plynlimon*, presumably a dissimilation as well as an expectably dubious and ambiguous rendering of the vowels.

Since consulting Sir Ivor's work I find further that it is possible to push back the date of attestation for the form in *Pl-*. On the Bodleian map 1325/50, reproduced by the Ordnance Survey 1935 (repr. 1970), we read *Plimilemon* or *Plumlemon* (?); perhaps the latter is the more likely reading, though the former would be phonetically better.

Sir Ivor mentions the earlier interpretations of *tull y Uumon* as 'smoke (*mweg*) hole' or as "more properly" 'hole for the banners'; I notice that these same cited opinions of Llyn and Davies are reproduced by Thomas Richards in his *Welsh-English Dictionary* (4th ed. 1839) s.v. *Uumon* p. 369. Sir Ivor then declares his stand on the meaning: *tyngiaf mai corn sinne ydyw, neu gorn heb y sinne!* He adduces the report of eyewitness testimony that five peaks can in fact be seen, and points to the fact that in Welsh phrases and derivatives *corn* and *ban* belong in the same semantic field as 'peak'. This leads him to a mention of *Llyn Llumonwy* 'Loch Lomond' as a justification of *umon* in the sense 'peak'. This may all be so, but as I argue presently, the notion 'peak' may well be quite irrelevant or fortuitous in the case of *Uumon* which we are considering.

The argument of Sir Ivor just summarized was in fact essentially set forth in his note to the word *lumon*, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (1935) 85, which he introduces with the words: *clywais fod pum ban ar y mynyddoedd hyn*. This note explicates the word which occurs in the *Pyll* stanzas (No. 31, i.e. the 3rd, CL1H p. 5), where the meaning of *umon* is established without question. The relevant phrase reads: *pwyl tan trwy Uumon*, where *pwyl* is taken in the sense 'anion'. This might be rendered 'the essence of (his essence) fire through a chimney'. Clancy's beautifully lapidary line (*The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, 1970, p. 71), with rich Welsh exploitation of sound, is: Fair Pwyl, a flame through a flue. The word *tan* and the construction with *trwy* makes the meaning of *umon* inescapable. I would also add that the parallel structure of the final verse of the next stanza (. . . *sawell* in place of *lumon*) only serves to confirm that we have a noun that denotes something which fire moves through with speed in the nature of things.

Since 1935, then, it has been clear that *Uumon* meant 'chimney'. I confess, however, that one probably needs to have Uisnech (and perhaps Vesta) in mind to find the presence of this noun in *Pumlumon* obvious or natural. Though I argue below that the name originally may have had no reference to a rise in the land (somewhere over in the middle of England), the precious occurrence of *lumon* in *Llywarch Hen* shows us that a meaning was attached to this noun sufficiently early to make it natural that in Wales the name was assigned to this mountain mass and not, say, to the narrow valley of the *tye* just below it.

phrase, also assured by Bret. *ludu*, which has replaced the old simplex. It is much more hazardous to attempt to account with assurance for the remaining part of the word, but a relation with *mawn* 'peat, móin' is very alluring. \**Lūd* + *mon* might originally have been simply 'peat-ash', later being applied to the more volatile parts of it (thus giving substance to Llyn's definition 'mwg'), but also, as *pars pro toto*, to the hearth as a whole; after all, an early hearth was largely the accumulation of ash that defined it. Still later the word could come to stand for the *twll y llumon* as well, and finally for the masonry structure. For the early period when the nomenclature of Pumlumon arose, are we really assured that tall chimneys that might be likened to a mountain peak were all that common? But, more significantly, is it not possible that this nomenclature was brought to Wales (from Prydein?) from some other "central hearth" where there was no question or necessity to look for a high peak (or five of them) that might be likened to a tall chimney? \**Lūmmon*, I claim, was once just 'aedes'.

Now that we have shown the functional equivalence of Uisnech and Pumlumon, and thereby assured the content of Uisnech for both branches of Insular Celtic (with support by implication also from Bret. *ludu* 'ashes') and so probably too for Proto-Celtic, I propose now to make plausible the phonological and partial morphological equivalence of *Uisnech* and *Vesta*. On the latter Ernout-Meillet<sup>4</sup> 729 remains prudently inconclusive, largely summarizing earlier guesses and pointing out justifiably that Roman divine names are often without IE pedigree. In his mentions of earlier equations adduced, Ernout allows OHG *wasal* 'feu' to stand; on this word see now my discussion *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 12, 1969, 164-8. For the content of *Vesta* Ernout makes appropriate reference to Dumézil *Rituels i.e. à Rome* 33ff.; this is of course essential if we are to make an equation between these two proper names. My purpose now is to furnish the necessary morphological background.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps what I consider to be the correct explanation of *Vesta* has been overlooked for two reasons. It seems to have been insufficiently considered that the initial Latin *ue-* may equally be derived from \**uo-*; on this phenomenon in position before clusters

<sup>2</sup> Pokorny IEW 1171 simply lists *Vesta* under his root \*1. *ues-* with no further comment. This is not at all adequate, as I noted *ALHafniensia* 12.158, and Ernout rejected this root connexion—correctly, as I thought then and as I feel sure now. However on that occasion I was able to offer nothing better in its place; at that time I had not read the relevant portions of Dumézil's work with sufficient care. It is worth remarking here that my present argument does not change the range of IE roots in traditional \**ues-* that I discussed in the article referred to. Buck's assignment (*Dictionary of IE Synonyms* 474-5) of *Vesta* to \**wes-* 'shine' is no more enlightening than the version reproduced by Pokorny, which Buck sensibly rejects.



see my remarks AJP 92, 1971, 86ff. I therefore propose *\*uostā*. In Latin, names of instruments or tools abound in *\*-tro-*, *-tlo-*, *-dhro-*, *-dhlo-* (neuter and feminine), and in *-ulum* *-ula*; but the type in 0-grade of the root + *-to-* (cf. κοῖτος 'couch', OPruss. *dalptan* 'chisel'; Meillet, *Introduction*<sup>8</sup> 269), which may have included nouns of result as well as instrument, has survived poorly in Latin. This type has had a notably good fortune in Balto-Slavic; it extends significantly to Albanian (*daltë* 'chisel'). For this reason Latinists may tend to discount the formation; but it must be remembered that we have to do here with a noun and function going back to IE antiquity, before the crystallization of Latin as we know it—in short, we may well look for a fossil. Within the same semantic and morphological realm I have also shown that Albanian *vatrë* (Geg *voter*) 'hearth' goes back to an old noun of instrument *\*ā-trā* 'a thing to burn with'; *ALHafniensia* 12, 1969, 153–6. I propose then that *\*uostā* is a personified noun of instrument 'thing to burn with' i.e. hearth, or conceivably fire-drill. For reasons of the argument which ensues I prefer this to the possibility that it was a noun of result 'what is burnt' = ashes or 'what is kindled' = embers → 'hearth'. Vesta was the hearth.

The root form which I have just proposed would be a state II shape (in Benveniste's terms) of the conventional IE *\*eus-* 'burn'; therefore, strictly, *\*H<sub>2</sub>uos-tā*. The repertory of Greek attestations actually supports this in an indirect way. Chantraine's account (*Dictionnaire étymologique* 2, 1970, 390) is both the most up-to-date and for internal Greek development the most complete coverage we have for εὔω and related forms. In general Chantraine does not carry the IE picture farther than Pokorny (IEW 347–8) left it, and a selection of forms will be cited below in connexion with *Uisnech*. Besides the clear thematic verb, Chantraine remarks that derivatives in Greek are rare; in fact the root has the appearance of being archaic throughout IE and of being in the process of dying off in the shape of isolated fossilized derived forms in the various IE branches, just as the thematic verb was being narrowed in use and forced out by κείω in early Greek. Now among the scattering of derivatives εὔστρόν and εὔστρῶ are noteworthy in their morphology, as Chantraine observes, by virtue of their apparent full-grade vocalism; the reader is referred to Chantraine, Frisk and their sources for the justification or attestations of the rough breathings. It seems to me that we may see underneath these unexpected full-grades older state II formations that would have matched *Vesta*.

We turn now to *Uisnech*. In the context of the above discussion there is no need to stop and refute the proposal (*\*ostināko-* 'the angular place' : *\*ost-* 'bone') of O'Rahilly EIHM 171, nor the guesses



of Joyce ('fawn') or of Meyer ('Lerchenhügel') which O'Rahilly rejects. However, one aspect of this earlier work must be pointed out as correct, the analysis of the final suffix. We surely have to do with \*-āko-, the widespread Celtic suffix which had an early rôle as a formative for toponyms or for places characterized by the preceding stem, especially with a typical plant growth; in the Irish context the former is mentioned GOI 222 § 349 note (for Gaulish), and the latter for *dristenach* 'dumetum' GOI 170 § 265c. In OBreton we have an excellent new example to place beside the last, *drisoc* BN Lat. 10290 (Fleuriot DGVB 152); and in Vannetais the suffix has enjoyed a circumscribed but vigorous life for fields planted to a specific grain down to the present day, where I have several examples in -øk from Ploemel. In Old Irish however it is significant that in the St. Gall glosses compounds in -*chaill* were used to translate Latin -*etum*; for reference to the passages see E. Bachellery, *Études celtiques* 11.108. In other words, \*-āko- in Old Irish as a microtoponymic was moribund and archaic. Let us note too that O'Rahilly was correct in positing \*i as the medial vocalism, though \*ī would also be acceptable; however, O'Rahilly made no use of this part of the formation.

We start then from \**ustināko-* having recognized a place-name suffix -*āko-*. Inside this we find another suffix \*-*тино-* which was used to form both places of plant growth and collectives (GOI § 265c); *dristen* 'thorn bushes' is an example that we have already seen extended in the instance cited above in -*ach*. The collective *feochuine* 'ravens' (GOI § 262,3) must certainly have this same \*-*in-* inflected in the familiar abstract-collective -*iā*; note that -(s)*ine* occurs in the sense 'abstract quality or capacity' only when the noun is marked [+*person*]. I suspect, taking the foregoing considerations together, that the suffixal syndrome \*-*i-in-(iā)* 'abstract, collective, collocation' represents an extension of the element \*-*to-* in one of its rôles by the suffix \*-*ino-*, as a synchronic fact of, say, Proto-Celtic; on the last suffix see Meillet-Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* 384. However, the earlier analysis may well have been \*-*ti-* and the archaic \*-*i-* 'action noun, abstract' (reinforced by \*-*iā*) extended by \*-*no-* 'pertaining to'. However this may be, our word is to be divided \**us-тино-* 'a place where \**us-* is collected or found together'; *Uisnech* is just an older accumulation of the same suffixes seen in *dristenach*.

The zero-grade of the root is easily paralleled by such forms as Skt. *uṣṭá- uṣṇá-* (: *ōṣati*), Lat. *ustus*, ON *usli* OE *ysle* f. 'embers', ON *ysja* 'fire'; the semantic range of 'burn, fire, coals' and by implication 'hearth' is indubitable. \**ustino-* meant 'place where burning is gathered together' or 'place where what us burnt (\**usto-* ashes) is

gathered together'; this stem therefore described a 'hearth'. It therefore seems more likely that *\*uostā* denoted the hearth rather than a fire-drill.

In turn, *\*us-tin-āko-* meant 'place of the hearth'. The equation between *\*Lūimmon*, *\*ustino-* (especially if the basis of derivation here is *\*ustó-* 'ashes'), *\*uostā* and Alb. *vatrë* is thus complete. Since we know that this item of culture, set in this context, had such great importance, it should not surprise us that the conservative Albanian culture (or its close kin) has carried this term as a loanword broadly throughout the Balkans and Southeast Europe; for my reasoning on assigning this diffusion to some ancient kin of Albanian rather than to Albanian itself, see *ALHafniensia* 12, 1969, 155-6. The present discussion is not the place to take up the riddle of Greek *στιά*; but I would suggest that if the above reasoning finds favour we have moved it one step further away from *Vesta*, and *Vesta* considerably nearer to *Uisnech*.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. *enech*, ἐνιπή

I have dealt (*BSL*) with the archaic morphology of *enech* 'face, honour', a neuter plurale tantum < *\*enik<sup>w</sup>ā*, in the context of related IE formations and their descendants. The Celtic etymon shows characteristic shortness in the *\*i*, a morphological transformation in these formations from earlier long syllabic *\*ī* = *iH*. The earlier shape and morphology was *\*eni-H<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-ā*.

In that article I also offer an explanation of the phonological problems of *enech* dat. pl. *inchaib* which bothered Thurneysen *GOI* 49-50. Matching British forms are found in Bret. *enep* 'visage, face; honneur; contre', OCorn. *eneb* 'pagina', OWelsh *enep* 'faciem'<sup>1</sup>. There can be, I think, no question about the phonological and morphological background of these Celtic forms; Fleuriot's entry *DGVB* 160 s.v. *enep*) should be revised accordingly.

I have also proposed, loc. cit., that Welsh *wyneb* is to be derived from *\*ēnik<sup>w</sup>ā* < *\*eenik<sup>w</sup>ā* < *\*ep-enik<sup>w</sup>ā*, thus reflecting a conflation with the construction (itself revised) seen in ἐπωπή, ὀπωπή, ὀπίπ-εύω. When such principled allowances are made for the initial directional elements (lexical particles), for the shortened medial syllabic in

<sup>3</sup> While we do not have a single obvious etymon in IE for 'hearth' (what did Sanskrit and Iranian really say?), it is hoped that the above discussion may have made some headway too, with the semantics of this question (the 'burner' or 'ash-pit' velsim.). On a light of *Vesta* I would claim that *focus* is a new term to Latin. OE *heorð* etc. (: Goth. *auri* 'coal', ON *hyrr* 'fire') and Latv. *uguns-kurs* look like a restricted North European innovation built on the old IE semantics. If ON *arinn* goes with *āra* it reflects the cultural function more than an older noun.

<sup>1</sup> See the next item.

Celtic, and for the inherited gender and number (where the Armenian evidence becomes important), I think there can also be no question on the phonological and morphological background of this long-standing Welsh riddle. My purpose, then, in this note is to address myself less superficially to the semantic side of the equations I have proposed.

First it is necessary to clarify some of the Greek phonology and morphology of pertinent forms. Fleuriot cites as comparisons only Gk. ἐνωπή and Skt. *ānikam* 'façade'. Actually what is attested in Greek is an isolated dative ἐνωπῇ (E 374); Frisk *GEW* 1.526-7 hesitates between attributing this to a verbal noun ἐνωπή 'Anblick, Angesicht' and regarding it simply as a Greek transformation of the adverbial ἐνώπα. For our purpose it does not matter too much which of these solutions is the correct one; no matter which, this form is a minor part of the picture. As I have mentioned in the article above cited, we find the elements which here occupy us combined in the locution ἐνώπα ἐν ὄπα, further combined in κατενώπα κατενώπιον, and from this the delocutive adjective ἐνώπιος. All of these, which Frisk carefully lists and identifies, fail to match exactly in vocalism our Celtic forms, as I have argued in *BSL*. In my view, they represent fresh Greek formations based on the productive set represented by ὦψ etc. However, one associated word is of clear interest to us, the neuter pl. ἐνώπια 'outer wall, façade' (Hom.), which also occurs in the sense 'face'; though the vocalism has been refashioned, I think we may see here yet another trace of our plurale tantum. In this sense we may make the partial equation *enech* = ἐνώπ(ι)α.

Having disposed of the Greek forms in omega, my argument then leads to the pairing of *enech/eneþ* with ἐνιπή 'rebuke, reproof; abuse; (pl.) threats', and the verb ἐνίσσω 'attack, reproach, maltreat'. While recognizing the equivalence I was content in that article to follow the speculations of Brugmann and Porzig in their attempt to understand the semantic development from what must have been something like 'face, look, glance' to the observed value 'rebuke, threat, etc.'. The development envisaged would seem to be one of a pejorative route via the nuance of 'bad, unpleasant, hostile glance'. This sort of sliding, oozing, creeping, tobogganing through semantic domains may turn out to be true of some cases; but it has all the weaknesses and possible irrelevance to reality that its analogue in historical theory, gradual phonetic change, has been seen to have. Its greatest weakness from the viewpoint of principle is that it is usually untestable and not subject to criterial controls; it can rest heavily on the fantasy of the theorist. It is this aspect of the proposed semantic change in question that I suggest we can repair considerably.



It is important to note that ἐνιπή is an epic and poetic word. We therefore have to do with a very old development in Greek, and also with attestations that take us a good way back in cultural context. It is thus reasonable to consider the Greek and the Celtic semantics that much more relevant to one another. Furthermore the verb ἐνίσσω shows by its phonology that it is a verb of prehistoric Greek morphological formation; the form ἐνίπτω is a later formation, and the successor ἐνέπω 'tell, announce' is post-Homeric entirely. Now there is a fact of the usage of ἐνίσσω/ἐνίπτω that is briefly noted by Liddell and Scott, but which I feel deserves more prominent notice. It is true that one finds such clauses as εἴ τις με καὶ ἄλλος . . . ἐνίπτοι Ω 768 'were another to attack me'. However it is noted that ἐνίπτω frequently occurs with strengthening words: χολεπῶ ἡνίπαπε υἱὸς B 245; ἐνένιπεν ὀνειδείοις ἐπέεσσιν Od 18, 326.<sup>2</sup> That is to say, these predicates state that a reproach or insult took place and further specify the language (means or instrument) with which it was done.<sup>3</sup> Semantically, the feature-bundle specifying the instrument(al) is presented separately and not univerbiert in the verb (or its underlying noun, in this case ἐνιπή). From this it is easy to see the transfer, via the transfer of WHOLE SEMANTIC FEATURES, to the late verb ἐνέπω. It is important, too, for our later argument to note here the prominence in these locutions of the notions of speaking and saying; these are rebukes and insults conveyed by language.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore all the more desirable that we abandon harsh looks and glances as a pejorative route to the senses we find in the history of Greek.

Now if we look at the early use of ἐνιπή we are able to discern a parallel phenomenon which leads us back to an anterior phase: κρατερὴν δ' ἀποθέσθαι ἐνιπὴν E 492 'wipe away (avoid) a harsh rebuke'; μάλα πῶς με καθίκεο θυμὸν ἐνιπῇ/ἀργαλέῃ Ξ 104-5; μὴν ἔκπαγλον ἐνιπὴν Od 10, 448. That is to say, we find our noun accompanied by a negatively valued adjective. A somewhat similar situation is observed also in ψευδέων ἐνιπά Pi.O.10(11)6 'reproach of lying'. Such juxtapositions could easily derive from earlier

<sup>2</sup> Just before this instance we read Od 18,321 αἰσχροῦς ἐνένιπε Μελανθῷ. It is interesting in more than one regard to note that a variant with this same verb is found 2238 ἔπεσσο' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐνίσσων.

Note that this last phrase is followed by a full speech of rebuke; we return to this below.

<sup>3</sup> A fine example discriminating the instruments of injury used is χερσὶν πεπληγῶς καὶ ὀνειδείοισιν ἐνίσσων X 497 sc. ἐπέεσσιν. This distinction has either faded or been merged in the surely later passage ἄλλ' ἔπεσιν τε κακοῖσιν ἐνίσσομεν ἡδὲ βολῆσιν Od 24.161, which the Budé edition translates 'on l'accabla de mots insultants et de coups', thus straddling the ambiguity.

<sup>4</sup> Note the authority of a native speaker: Suid. I 2, 262 ἡ διὰ λόγων ἀτιμία.



phrases with equally negative modifiers but a semantically more neutral (or at one time even positive) value for the noun ἐνὶπρή < \**enīH<sub>o</sub>k<sup>w</sup>ā*. In short, it is quite reasonable, I submit, that this etymon may have appeared in prehistoric Greek with a neutral or even positively valued semantics, thus reaching its attested unfavourable force not by some gradual pejorative metaphoric slide. A meaning of 'honour, personal integrity' would meet these qualifications<sup>5</sup> while lending itself aptly to a later transformation, by transfer of semantic features, to the meaning of 'insult, reproach'. If it had early been frequent in contexts denoting the use of language, that would explain the natural occurrence of such accompanying locutions in the epic passages.

Now let us return to the Celtic data. It is well known that *enech* and its cognates have the meaning of 'honour', quite apart from the well attested physical value 'face'. Middle Breton *di-eneb* 'sans honneur' also shows this clearly. The well known Welsh *wynebwerth* 'honour-price, *lóg n-enech*, *díre*' and the matching OBret. *enep uuert* are certainly pertinent, but the nature of the complex expression does not assure us of the original value of the simplex so quite clearly. A further semantic step has been taken by OBret (Landévennec) *enep guerth* gl. d[o]tatione (DGV B 160), MedBret. *enebarz* 'endowment'. For *enech* the DIL (E 128-33) regards the sense 'honour' as a metaphoric or figurative transfer from the physical sense 'face'. Be that as it may (see below), the sense 'honour' is no small, subsidiary, or minor coloration taken on by this word; it is strongly represented and occurs in a rich range of contexts and locutions—one need only think, for example, of the compounds *enechgreiss* 'attack on honour, slander' or *enechrucce* (: *ruccae*) 'shame, disgrace', earlier 'injury of a certain sort; compensation for same (= 1/2 or 1/7 *ereclann*)'. In other words, IF the sense 'honour' is to be seen as branching off from that of 'face' this is no internal Irish development and it is not even clearly an internal fact of Celtic; if there is any derivation involved here it is only in a formal synchronic sense of the relations within the Celtic semantic structure.

Now T. M. Charles-Edwards has recently (*Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 1970 Part II, 1971, 277-8) enriched our grasp considerably of the textual testimony for the semantic range under discussion. In the course of a very stimulating

<sup>5</sup> See recently the anthropological approach to the question of honour in Homer by Paul Friedrich, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 1, 1973, 119-25. Such notions, greatly transformed, live on to the present day in the Balkans in the form of Greek φιλότιμο, which has been admirably studied by Peristiany, and in Albanian, where expressions employing *sy* 'eye' and *faqe* 'face, cheek' abound. But here we are on the edge of the Ottoman world, and another very complicated question.

article he analyses perceptively the social and legal aspects of the sequel to the encounter of Pwyll and Arawn. The question arises as to who should have spoken first; Charles-Edwards points out that the rule was for the lower to address the superior, and that an insult (i.e. trespass of honour) had occurred. Parenthetically, we may here add a comment to the meanings of *enech*, while motivating this rule somewhat more clearly. The infraction in addressing here reminds us of the fault that Cú Chulainn committed in not "binding his protection"; I have already dealt with the latter term and institution as a survival of archaic IE culture. A further sense of *enech* that may be discriminated is that of 'protection, guarantee', and the DIL derives this—quite correctly—from 'honour'. It would seem then that the specific breach of honour in not addressing first consists in not "binding protection" under the original form of the rule; the order of addressing was not an empty formality.

Charles-Edwards fastens on the interesting sentence *mi a wnaf anglot itt guerth can carw*, which I will render simply 'I will do you 100 stags-worth of *anglot*'. The last word is of course the privative *clod*. Charles-Edwards also draws attention to the presence of *guerth* in this context, reminding us of *wynebwerth* and *lóg n-enech*. I have already indicated above my view, which applies equally to Charles-Edwards's remarks, that 'honour' here is not to be derived simply from 'face'. In other words, the threat that is being made is one of satire (*der*) which entails a certain honour-price. Charles-Edwards then adduces a brilliant juxtaposition to illuminate this terminology: The text of Culhwch and Olwen has the phrase (White Book) *dwyn dy wyneb*, but (Red Book) *dwyn dy agclot*. The surface meanings of these two versions of the same passage seem to be 'remove honour' and 'carry satire', respectively. Charles-Edwards's aim, it seems, was mainly to bring evidence establishing the terminological network that defines the interpretation of this PKM passage. But we may wonder further how these striking variants came to be. It appears in the two versions that *dwyn* is serving in different senses; but this pair illustrates vividly how in suitable contexts, particularly when praise and satire are concerned, '*wyneb* = honour' may shift directly to 'dis-praise = ἐνίκη'. We may, moreover, assure ourselves of the ancient status of the collocation *dwyn wyneb* since the same idiom is found in Irish *berid enech*, the opposite of *do-gní enech* 'maintains, confers honour'.

Now I think that we can go a step farther and specify exactly the lexical and semantic grounds how this Welsh textual substitution came about; at the same time we see in greater detail an analogue of what we suppose to have happened in prehistoric Greek. In a note on *orn* \*'satire, aé' (*BBCS* 25, 4, May 1974, 390-1) I have pointed

out the pertinent background of *gogan goganaf* 'satir(iz)e' (since 13th century) and 'predict, praise, fo-cain' (13-15th centuries). I have derived both these opposite senses by situational divergence from the same earlier lexeme. We have just seen that *dwyn wyneb* 'berid enech, ἐνίσσω' is an old collocation; in fact, on the basis of the Greek verb and the total Greek semantics it looks as though we may have here the remains of an IE idiom 'to dishonour' as a predicate \**bhēreti* (→ *duket(i)*) *eniH<sub>o</sub>k<sup>w</sup>ā* → *eniH<sub>o</sub>k<sup>w</sup>īō*. Now I suggest that when the Red Book scribe (note the chronology of attestation above for *goganaf*) read a "White Book" version *dwyn dy wyneb* 'goganaf, satirize, dishonour' he was struck by the presence of the positively valued term *wyneb* in this archaic and moribund lexical network; for him the phrase risked being ambiguously interpreted 'goganaf, praise'. So, in his terms, to clarify the sense of 'gogan(af)' and to disambiguate the negativity of the meaning as well as to return the textual *dwyn* to its more usual later lexical sense, the Red Book scribe substituted the explicit *agclot*. Thus a dying idiom was converted into a normal transitive predicate with maximum preservation of the inherited text. For a Welsh speaker of that period the ambiguity of *goganaf* easily explains the otherwise puzzling substitution of opposite words in the selfsame surface phrasal structure while preserving the total semantics intact. On the other hand, the dual development that I have outlined (op. cit.) for *gogan(af)* would precisely explain the semantic prehistory of ἐνίσσω. It may well be that the Greek noun then later followed the semantic narrowing that the Greek verb had already undergone in being restricted to the negative value.

The foregoing juxtaposition furnishes us with a suggestion for a fresh attempt at a solution of the troublesome old riddle of the origin of *eneclann*, which was discussed at length by Thurneysen *ZCP* 20, 1936, 205-12. In that article, besides specifying the early meaning as denoting an 'honour-price less than a full *lóg n-enech* (or *dire*)' (210-11), Thurneysen makes it plain that the phonetic shape must have been [en'əkləñ] (206). The *DIL* makes the gender neuter with a question-mark, and later feminine and masculine; the detailed basis of this statement is not clear to me. Thurneysen obviously treats it as feminine, which is certainly minimally justified, and hypothesizes (211) that it could have taken its gender from *clann* with which it was later associated by native speakers. At any rate it has a gender behaviour independent of *enech*. Now in connexion with the last it is interesting to note that *cloth*, the equivalent of Welsh *clod* which lies at the basis of *agclot*, is used as a plural in the early texts; this suggests a formal link arising from the semantic equivalence which Charles-Edwards has brought out. Additional



the etymologically identical root involved, we may also note the concatenation *co clú clothbind* 'of sweet report' *Arch.Hib.* ii 73 § 55, and this brings us to the interesting noun *clú*. We read in *Contribb.* that *clú* was an original neuter but early became feminine. The localism *ú* instead of the expected *ó* is attributed tentatively by Thurneysen, *GOI* § 338 note, to *ro-cluinethar*; but aside from the difference in form-class and in detailed meaning ('reputation, good name' : 'hear'), there is a difference in vowel length and the *u* alternates (and is probably not synchronically underlying) in the verb paradigm. If on the basis of the partial equivalence of *wyneb* and *clod* we posit a compound *\*enech-chlú*, we may motivate all the facts easily. Such a form, which would become *\*enechlú*, would be weakened in shape to *rétglú* etc.; this would explain the *ú* and also transfer it to an *n*-stem. It would also aid in moving its gender to the feminines, which are so prevalent in this class; moreover, in this setting the *ú* would have been unusual for a neuter. Once arrived at this feminine *n*-stem, forms of the shape *enecla(i)nn* would be automatically produced by MacNeill's law. The movement to the class of *tuath*, whether or not under the influence of *cland*, would then not be difficult.

We return now to the equation *enech/wyneb/ἐνίπῃ*. We have found an intricate yet orderly semantic web involving the cultural categories of honour(price), protection, greeting, insult and satire surrounding this term and stretching back in time as far as the Celtic evidence takes us. Moreover, the Greek meaning and contexts lead us to a similar cultural value. In fact, of the instances cited above from the Homeric text no less than three (B 245, Ω 238, Od 18.326) of the verbs are immediately followed by a speech of reproach; these Homeric speeches may be regarded as literary kin of the formal Celtic satires (*áer, agclot, orn*).<sup>6</sup> Here we find another specimen of the transformed patrimony from IE that Greek had considerably reworked. I propose therefore that the Celtic sense 'honour' for these words is inherited from IE.

To be explicit, the neuter plurale tantum *\*eni-H<sub>o</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-ā* meant 'honour (price)' and belonged to that system of institutionalised

<sup>6</sup> It seems to me that these are the potential true Greek analogues to the Celtic words rather than the poetic compositions of Archilochos and Hipponax discussed by Ronald Ward *JIES* 1, 1973, 128-30. The latter, like their Roman counterparts, are more in the nature of personal invective and were revenges for personal wrong done to the poet. Similarly, Roman satire, when it was political, was as if the poet took a portion of public or partisan opinion for his own point of view, that is of course the heritage in our own tradition of post-Renaissance satire. The Celtic and IE phenomenon which we are occupied with, and which Ward discusses very interestingly, is rather an institutionalized structure which is interwoven with law and social status; it has to do with *honour* (and through the king even with political rule, *flaith*), and not with personal pride or prestige as we understand the latter notions.



personal integrity that, inter alia, satire or verbal invective (perhaps formulated in literary form) could seriously damage.<sup>7</sup>

The IE word for 'face' was the ancestor of πρόσωπα Skt. *prātikan* and was overtaken in Celtic by the phonetic/morphological form for 'honour'.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. OW *enep* and the imperfect 3sg.

This form is found in Ox. 2, dated to the 10th century. It is true that there are peculiarities about the glosses in this MS, and that there is the lingering suspicion of a Cornish veneer; see Jackson *LHEB* 55–6. Still, the glosses are Welsh at bottom, but it is annoying that this lone Welsh specimen in *e-* occurs precisely in a MS harboring this residual question; this is what Fleuriot (*DGVB* 241 s.v. *letenep*) prudently alludes to. For our present argument it is of course no disability that Welsh fails to show an incontestable absolutely unambiguous example of *e-*; for the Southwest British testimony adequately supports the form in question genealogically for the whole of Celtic. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the nature of the Welsh evidence, and to attempt to recover as much as we can of the background that led to the interesting and indubitable form *wyneb*. There is, however, just one other piece of evidence that might indirectly rescue *enep*; Arwyn Watkins has forced me to focus on the problematic M.Cap. (9th century) *leteinepp* 'pagina', which I was otherwise tempted to overlook as desperate. Fleuriot is right (*DGVB* 241) in rejecting Loth's suggestion that OBret. *letenep* was a calque on Irish; on the other hand it is hard to be sure how the word diffused, since on grounds of the realia the compound cannot be Proto-Celtic—we have here a case of which the classic instance is

<sup>7</sup> Ward's exploration (op.cit. 132ff.) of the Celtic and Norse parallels in satire, while extremely perceptive and fascinating, is not so strong in itself as he represents it toward demonstrating an IE patrimony; for these two cultures are adjacent and share other well known areal features. (See G. Turville-Petre, *Ériu* xxii 1–22) To the extent that there is a common heritage here—and I agree that there must be some—it may well have been sharpened and conserved, or even transformed in parallel fashion, by contact with a common aboriginal or preexisting culture. The Vedic equation is much more convincing; and, as in language, the most probative cases may often be those which retain least superficial similarity, but which submit to exact formulations of historical change.

I am not convinced myself (pace Ward 140) that *creth* (Welsh *prydydd*) is to be attributed a direct connexion with magic and the like. It seems to me more likely that *creth* is at bottom a 'doing, creation, poiesia', and that what a *čaro-ději* originally did was *creth*. Ward's implied IE value for the dog (142–3) seems to me open to question on areal grounds; the instances he cites match well the familiar Mediterranean and Levantine values, but the high value of *Cú* and *Cuno-* in early Celtic must be set against this; is the latter a relic of West European aboriginal values? Is it irrelevant that the domestic dog is still so prized today in Northwest Europe?

<sup>8</sup> The blisters on the face raised by Celtic satire (Ward 133–4) may reflect this Celtic lexical innovation.

perhaps Bloomfield's judgement on the Algonquian words for whiskey. We are nevertheless justified in looking for an early date for its formation in Common British. I cannot however follow Fleuriot in proposing an emendation to *\*letoinepp* in favour of *wyneb*; on principle, we must here accept the *lectio difficilior*.

There is, as I see it, one possibility worth considering here as a conceivably valuable contribution that *leteinepp* may make. We must recall that OIr. *leth* 'side' is an *s*-stem; therefore a pre-form should once have existed in the shape *\*letes-enípā*. It is true that this might have been treated phonetically as if it were *\*lete* + *senípā*, in which case we should have *\*letheneb*. But we may well have a successor to simple *\*letesenípā*. Unfortunately, Jackson is obliged to tell us (*LHEB* 360-1) that there is no known evidence for the fate of *\*s* (or *yod*, which is the same, in his account § 37) between unstressed *\*e*'s, or (as the probable interstage would have been) between *i* and *e*. I suggest that we may have one such instance in the 3sg. imperfect ending of the regular verb *carei*, *bydei*, *buei*, *bei pei*. Despite the notorious difficulties in accounting for the imperfects of Celtic, we may look for the clearest historical continuity in the 3sg. on grounds of the reasoning originally advanced by Benveniste and elaborated by Calvert Watkins (*IE Origins of the Celtic Verb* goff.). Now it is noteworthy that the one verb form that has not been invaded by the ending *-ei* is *oedd*; these two are thus in complementation, and we may look for an originally shared or identical function common to them. There can scarcely be any doubt that *oedd* comes from *\*esāt* (C. Watkins 149-51), and this was an early (Italo-Celtic?) importation into the imperfect function from an older modal function, as Benveniste has claimed; a trace of the old modal function is to be seen in the behaviour of OIr. *ba<sup>h</sup>* noted in *GOI* § 813. It is also clear throughout the history of the form that *oedd* is a stressed form *\*ésāt* (*LHEB* 350). We are therefore entitled to look for an older inherited imperfect form; knowing the general habits of Celtic with respect to stressed/unstressed forms (OIr. fut. substantive *bieid* : copula *bíd*) and enclitic (conjunct) behaviour (pret.-impf. copula *ba<sup>h</sup>* : *-bo*), we may also seek this as an unstressed or enclitic variant. I propose then that we hypothesize an old unstressed and enclitic (therefore "conjunct") 3sg. impf. *\*eset*, which would be in turn a refashioning of the secondary tense of *\*es-* (Skt. 3sg. *āḥ*) based on the thematic conjugation; the functional descendant of this would be *bydei* (strengthened by the stressed base *\*biḡ-*) and the alternate *buei* (*CLIH* 36.29<sup>b</sup>) would reflect the neutralization of preterite and imperfect seen in the OIr. copula. Hence we may make the syntactic equation

bydd (: ) oedd < \*ésāt : -ei < \*-eset (Skt. á-bharat, ásit)  
 = biid ·btth, lsg. bá : ba<sup>h</sup>, -bo

The same relation is to be seen in Bret. *oa* : *care, carse, bihe, be* (: *letenep*). On these lines the ultimate form taken by \*es- depended simply by its placement in the sentence: *yma yd oedwn yn kerdet ui a'r gwr mwyaf a garwn* 'here I was (\*ésā-) travelling, I and the man I loved (\*-ese-) best'. We may see these relations clearly in the sequence from *Llyr a'i ferched* (Brynley F. Roberts, *Brut y Brenhinedd* 1971, ll. 7-10): A dyrvavt KARYAT OED kan ev tat vdvnt, ac eyssyoes mwya a KAREY e verch yevhaf ydau no'r dwy ereyll. A phan EDOED ef en llythrav parth a heneynt, medylav a orvc pa wed ed ADAWHEY y kyvoeth o'y verchet gwedy ef. Thus *cariad oedd, oedd yn caru* (or better *cerdded*), and *car-ei* are simply rearrangements of the same lexemes.

A further validation of the derivation of -ei < IE \*es-(et) 'was (clitic)' is to be seen in their behaviour with respect to initial mutations. It will be recalled that forms of the verb 'to be' normally lenite the subject of 3sg. forms and the nominal predicate (Simon Evans *GMW* §21a and d). Now the above derivation explains why precisely the 3sg. imperfect and pluperfect of other verbs idiosyncratically lenite their subjects. That is to say more formally, -ei<sup>L</sup> < \*-ese(t) = BE (-impf.)-3 sg.

It may also be that one further example of analogous phonetics is to be seen in *tei* 'houses' and the plural 'beds' mentioned by me in this connexion *BBCS* 16, 1956, 277. If the old accentuation were \*tégesa (and similarly \*uolégesa), as reported by Jackson *LHEB* 350, we would have \*tīgiā > \*tīgiā (by affection) > \*tyzei, which would later have joined the vocalisms of *bryein(t)*, *breenhined*, etc. Note that this development would presuppose a derivation of posttonic \*iīa parallel to that of \*ese > \*iīe above, and contrasting with pretonic \*iīa in *miaren*, *guiannuin*, and *Iarn-*.

#### 4. fīu, feb, ḥūs, vásu-

The problem of ḥūs and ḥū is well known and adequately documented and debated in the literature. We are fortunate to have Frisk (*GEW* 1.594-5) and Chantraine (*Dictionnaire* 2, 1970, 388) to summarize matters for us so recently and so masterfully. Frisk's account (op. cit. 595) ends "Natürlich ist auch mit griech. Zusammenfall von idg. \*esu- und \*uesu- zu rechnen." I think that, expressed in slightly different phonological terms, this is the essential and final truth of the matter. For a purely phonological reason this could have



happened only in Greek, and this is part of the reason why this must be the outcome we see, and why it is crucial to see the solution to the total problem couched in Greek terms. The other languages carry their separate contribution, but it is in the vexed Greek thicket that we may disentangle all the essential entwined shoots.

There can be no question that we have two separate etyma here. Evidence for the two sources has been advanced many times before; I have no essentially new contribution to offer to this question. I will simply assemble here the main themes of this evidence known to me. The complexity and confluence of this evidence accumulates in Greek; it is my belief that the essential disambiguating information is to be found in Celtic sources. The purpose of this note is to present these views and the supporting forms.

Chantraine loc. cit. summarizes the two possible sources;

1. Hitt. *aššu-*, Skt. *su-* etc., the verb root *\*es-*; he also repeats the speculation that Hieroglyphic *wa-su-* has a secondary *w-*, on which see below.

2. Skt. *vāsu-*, Avest. *vohu-*, Gaul. *Bellovesus*; to these we may add the equation often made and cited by Frisk of Illyr. (if that is a correct and contentive name here) gen. *Ves-cleveses*.

Chantraine's characteristically prudent and laconic observation is that the second etymon is the more widespread and that perhaps both 1 and 2 have been conflated in Greek.

Thus both Frisk and Chantraine are close to agreement, and the basic problem is to see precisely how the observed situation came about and to identify which formal aspects reflect the original features that went into the constitution of the resultant forms.

The Celtic forms are often slighted in such general discussions. First we must note *feb* (*ā*-stem, feminine) 'excellence, wealth'; the glosses have only the dat.sg. *feib*. There is also a masculine *u*-stem *ebas* 'excellence', of obvious derivation. Secondly there is *fīu* and its Welsh equivalent *gwiw* 'worthy'; with the accusative *fīu* is used as an equivalent of 'quam'. These Celtic forms are highly important in the total set of comparisons, and additionally have their own unique contribution to make. Even the Celtic reference works do not really do them justice: The KVG 1.75 and CCCG 18 § 24.4 are wrong in reconstructing simply *\*weswā* -os. This is acceptable for *feb(as)*, but not for *fīu* nor for *gwyech*. The impossible attribution of *gwyech* is repeated by Buck in his Dictionary of Synonyms.

The Celtic testimony gives us two clear pre-forms: *feb* < *\*uesuā*, and *fīu* = *gwiw* < *\*uīsu(o-)* < *\*uēsu-*.

Celtic additionally attests OIr. *so<sup>L</sup>-*, Welsh *hy-*, Gaul. *su-*: these have long been equated with Skt. *su-*. Building on the work of K.H. Schmidt and Schlerath, I have recently explored their syntactic



background; see Proceedings of the Mid-America Linguistics Conference 1972 (in press). There I make clear my view that these are to be equated directly with Greek εὔ- Hitt. *aššu-* < *\*H<sub>e</sub>su-*, a zero-grade participle of 'to be' equivalent to Skt. *sant-*. Thus we have an originally underlying stem *\*H<sub>e</sub>es-ú-*.

Within the above scope it seems to me that we must equate Celtic *\*uesuā* with Skt. *vásu-*, Avest. *vohu-*, "Illyr." *Ves-*. This assures us for the IE level of a form *\*uésu-*. Yet we see that Celtic also gives clear evidence of *\*uēsu-*. I see no way of avoiding three IE forms *\*H<sub>e</sub>sú-*, *\*uésu-*, and *\*uēsu-*, all with closely similar meanings.

Let us turn now to the Greek evidence. Chantraine, under his entry, εὔς ~ ἥς points out that the old neuter was always ἥς. In adverbial use Attic-Ionic specialized εὔ, which was later replaced by καλῶς. The prevailing form in compounds was εὔ-; in the article above-mentioned I have already set forth reasons why this element did not originally mean 'well, good', and thus is a reflex of *\*H<sub>e</sub>su-*. We need only to explain, then, the early independent forms. It has been remarked by Schwyzler and others that ἥς(ς) occurs almost always at the end of a verse. There can be no question that there is a clear case of specialization of form here; the open question is the basis and mechanism of specialization. Chantraine as well as others has appealed to metrical lengthening, and has rejected as an alternative an old vowel alternation. Frisk rejects Ablaut as a basis and opts for metrical alternation, but without specifying the mechanism more precisely. The real question is: Granted these obviously rule-governed selective alternations, how did the two vocalisms arise in the first place to be available? My answer is that one continues *\*H<sub>e</sub>sú-* while the other reflects *\*uēsu-*, the resultant phonological similarity having been exploited by using them in complementary metrical positions or functions. Thus it is metrical choice which governs them, but phonetics and semantics which brought them into such close proximity in Greek.

But there WERE other facts, equally inherited, that encouraged the exploitation of such alternations in vocalism, especially of length. Chantraine states "le gén.sg. ἔηος comporte un esprit rude probablement dû à l'analogie de ἔοιο . . . . L'η de ἔηος reste obscur . . . ." First, for the rough breathing we may consider the parallel of εὔω = Lat. *ūrō*. This would yield *\*ēhōs*. Behind this I suggest we may see *\*fēhē-* = OIr. *feb* crossed with the old *u*-stem gen. (f)ēhf-ōs. Even if on principle we choose to derive the last form from *\*H<sub>e</sub>sú-* we cannot exclude the possibility of the cognate of Skt. *vásu-*.

If it appears that we have stretched a long way to retrieve a match for *feb*, I submit that we may consider a supporting reflex in another difficult form. Having branded the gen.pl. ἔᾶων "forme

difficile" Chantraine goes on to describe it as "forme artificielle créée sur le modèle des génitifs fém. en -ᾶων, pour \*ἑῆων(?)." Consider the following instances (cited from the Budé text):

528 δῶρων οἷα διδῶσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων

(of πίθοι in the storehouse floor of Zeus; var. κηρῶν ἔμπλεοι ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν Plato *Resp.* 379 d, testes, et cod. unus m. rec.)

325 . . . θεοί, δωτῆρες ἑάων

335 Ἑρμεία, Διὸς υἱέ, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἑάων

All these instances may read equally well as containing plural nominalizations, i.e. an old feminine collective. As such they could be derived perfectly from ƒehƒā- < \**mesuā-*, the exact equivalent of *feb*. Moreover for the last two instances an exact phrasal equation has been accepted by many with the Indic kenning *dātā vāsūnām*. This equation of the total phrase is strong support for the IE antiquity of the component parts, especially in view of the isolation and regularity within Greek. On the other hand, the exact morphological fit with the Old Irish noun suggests that no recent fresh creation need be assumed for the Greek as we find it; we need only respect the text.

I submit then that we recover for Greek in orderly distributions reflexes of \**H<sub>e</sub>sú-*, \**uēsu-*, and \**mesuā-*. The OIr. matches are respectively *so<sup>L</sup>-*, *fiu*, and *feb*. All this detail is matched only partially in other branches, but the Greek and Celtic evidence taken together suffices. There is hence no reason to try an impossible derivation for Hieroglyphic Luwian (or other Luwian) *wa-su-*; this is simply the Anatolian equivalent of *fiu* or *feb*.

Behind these three formations I see for pre-IE just two stems. It seems morphologically unparalleled to look for a Dehnstufe derivative in \**uēsu-* from \**uēsu-(ā)*; a reverse derivation will hardly do either. I thus regard \**uēsu-* as a cross between \**uēsu-* and the underlying \**H<sub>e</sub>s-ú-*. Whether or not \**uēsu-* contained a laryngeal one cannot now say on any evidence known to me; we might look for forms in apparent \**ūs-*.

### 5. *escaid*, *aisc*

With his typical imagination and lucidity M. A. O'Brien has seen (*Celtica* 3, 1956, 171-2) *escaid* 'searching for lice' as related to Slavic *iskati*, etc. Vendryes *Lex. Étym.* A-51 s.v. *aisc* has recognized the excellence of the explanation; surely O'Brien is basically right.

There are just a few points of his exposition which can be sharpened or adjusted. O'Brien is quite right that the Old Irish form must

derive from *\*i-*; however it is not at all likely that the Slavic reflects *\*i-*, long or short. If it were from short *\*i-* we might expect some different results in West Slavic. But in any event O'Brien neglects the Baltic cognates represented by Lith. *ieškóti*, where we have a clear *\*ei-*. Thus Baltic and Slavic go together with Germanic in the vocalism. Since for a *\*-sk-* present we expect zero grade ablaut once again we see the pattern of Celtic and Indo-Iranian pairing in preserving the archaic reflex. The initial part of *escaid* exactly matches Skt. *iccháti*.

O'Brien reconstructs a form *\*iskāti-* without further comment. The *\*ā*, which is NOT the expected vocalism of a stem in *\*-sk'-* is more interesting than perhaps O'Brien could have known. Vyacheslav V. Ivanov (*Donum Balticum* for Chr. Stang, 206-10) has discussed perceptively *ieškóti* = *iskati* in the context of related verb formations pointing out that these *ā*-preterites are the morphological counterpart of intensive reduplication in *o*-vocalism as seen in verbs of sound and verba dicendi. We have therefore an old pedigree, and a point of particular interest which matches the semantics well, in O'Brien's reconstruction *\*isk-ā-ti-*.

What has never been brought out sufficiently clearly in the case of Lith. *ieškóti* is the fact that the resultant medial cluster demands the assumption of an earlier *\*Csk'*; in fact, Skt. *iccháti* is attributed to the root *iṣ-*. I have discussed this question from the Baltic point of view in some detail in *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* (forthcoming) the Baltic (and Slavic) seems to require the assumption of the conflated outcome of cognates to Skt. *iṣ-* 'seek' and *īś-* 'own'.

Now this Baltic configuration is precisely mirrored and supported by the Celtic evidence. I have argued (*Annales de Bretagne* 1973, that medial *-sk-* in Celtic can never reflect simple *\*-sk-* but only *\*-Csk-*; let me note here that in drawing up that argument (first advanced some years ago as a footnote to my article on *dubro* 'water', published in *Studies in Honor of George L. Trager* 1972: 233-7) I failed to notice the statement in Lewis's Supplement to CCG (1961) 4 ad p. 19. I have also pointed out (*Journal of Indo-European Studies* appearing) the importance for the whole of IE of this cluster in OIr. *iasc* Welsh *Wysg*. We must therefore revise O'Brien's reconstruction to *\*iCsk-ā-*, probably *\*is-sk'-(ā-)*; the cluster would then exactly equal that of Welsh *gwisgaw* 'dress, equip etc.'

Thus the remnant detected by O'Brien in *escaid* becomes extraordinarily important.

O'Brien was not able to explain *aiscid*; Vendryes loc. cit. has nothing in his account, which clings to *\*(ad-)saig-*, to remove O'Brien's astute objection that forms with *-ch-* seem strangely lacking. Indeed

we do need some form in *ad-* to explain the *a-*. It would be reasonable in this semantic domain to see *ad-* with intensive force. Therefore a compound *\*ad-is-sk-(ā-)* would be adequate to explain the verb form, which would then have undergone syncope; on the phonetics of *\*ð-s* see GOI 88 § 139. In turn, the noun *aisc* would then be a back-formation from the verb.

Alternatively, in the slender consonantism of *aiscid* we may also see a reflex of the old IE present stem *\*ad + is-sk'-e-*, with the expected thematic vowel instead of the preterite-intensive *\*-ā-*. We would then have an exact match for Skt. *icchāti* Avest. *isaiti*; of course, only morphological expectation argues against a perfectly possible guṇa grade matching Umbr. *eiscurent* and OCS *jišetŭ*.

In such a formation *\*ad-* would semantically equal the *\*-ā-*. Therefore I propose *escaid* < *\*is-sk'-ā-ti-* and *aiscid* < *\*ad + is-sk'-e-*.

## 6. Lith. *nasraĩ*, Slav. *nozď(i)ri*, OIr. *sron*, Gk. *πίς*

A good etymology must account for all the facts. At the same time, the aim of an etymology is to unite observations and make them mutually explanatory, not to dissociate possible connexions unless there is very strong reason. The latter principle is bound up with the fact that we prefer to be able to show that in a given development there has been no replacement, and that all change has been purely superficial<sup>1</sup>; this is because the fundamental nature of language (and of culture) is continuity<sup>2</sup>.

For this last reason I feel convinced that O.N. Trubačëv is basically correct in refusing to divorce Lith. *nasraĩ* and what appears to be Slav. *nozďri*<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, he loses something—and fails to account for all the data—by excluding the arguments summarized by Vasmer (II 225) as *\*nos-dřa*; there is no need to explore further the claimed, but unmotivated, suffix *\*-dhr-*. Inversely, Vasmer struggles to rescue the Ukrainian form *nizďra*, with its *i* vocalism, but misses the striking and surely fundamental reality that Baltic and Slavic agree closely in their versions of this term.

It is well known that by deriving *nozďri* (regularly) from *\*nozri* we cannot then directly relate this form to *nasraĩ* etc. since there is no immediate motivation for the supposed voicing of *z*. *\*nozri* could only contain *\*ǵ(h)* (> Baltic *ž*). On the basis of *óstrov* or even *óstryj* we would expect as a match of *nasraĩ* something like *\*nóstri*.

<sup>1</sup> See my further remarks *Baltistica* VIII (1) 1972, 55.

<sup>2</sup> See also my argument Papers from the 8th Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society, April 14–16, 1972, pp. 470–2.

<sup>3</sup> *Baltistica* I Priedas, 1972, 225–6.



Therefore both for the Ukrainian *i* and for the unexpected voicing we do well to accept (schematically) a form on the lines of *\*nos-d̥ir-i* as an IMMEDIATE SLAVIC PRECURSOR<sup>4</sup>. No matter what identity is assumed for the underlying Slavic *\*der-*, a contamination in early Slavic is unavoidable. This is plausibly explained phonetically on a basis *\*nóstri* → *nos-d̥(ĩ)r-i* > *nózd̥iri*. To put the argument in slightly different terms, since we need to assume a fresh source of contamination in order to transpose the feature composition of *\*t* into *d̥*, we may at no extra cost see in this same element the source of the needed jer.

The total Slavic derivation then becomes *\*nózd̥iri* ← *\*nóstri* < *\*nasr-*.

Trubačëv's account of the first vocalism is inadequate. According to him (226) *nósis* < *\*nās-* is a lengthened vocalism, and he then writes for *nasraĩ* (according to a convention I do not understand) *\*nos-*. We agree immediately that phonetically (in Brugmann's terms) Skt. *nāsā* (dual) *nāsikā*, Avestan *nāh-*, OPers. *nāham*, Lat. *nārēs*, Lith. *nósis*, OE *nōse* etc. rest on *\*nās-*. But this must be in laryngeal terms *\*neH<sub>a</sub>s-* (or *\*neə<sub>a</sub>s-*). Indic forms such as weak-case *nas-* or *nasya-* 'located on the nose' must be newly formed neo-guṇa, modelled on other paradigms with Skt *ā*. It then becomes clear that OE *nasu*, OHG *nasa*, Slav. *nosŭ*, and our word *nasraĩ* reflect a zero-grade *\*nəs-* (= *nH<sub>a</sub>s-*). Pokorny *IEW* 755 should be corrected and sifted in these respects.

In other words, morphologically there was in Indo-European an old root noun *\*neH<sub>a</sub>s-*. This would have been declined:

sg.	N	<i>*nēH<sub>a</sub>s-s</i>	→	[nás]
	A	<i>neH<sub>a</sub>s-m</i>	→	[násm̥] > OP <i>nāham</i> , <i>nósĩ</i>
	L	<i>neH<sub>a</sub>s(-i)</i>	→	[nás]
	G	<i>nH<sub>a</sub>s-os</i>	→	[nəsós] > <i>nosŭ</i>
	D	<i>nH<sub>a</sub>s-ei</i>	→	[nəséĩ]
du.	NA	<i>nēH<sub>a</sub>s-e</i>	→	[náse] > Skt. <i>nāsā</i> , Av. <i>nāṇha</i> , Lat. <i>nārēs</i>
	I	<i>nH<sub>a</sub>s-bh</i> . .	→	[nəzbh-']
	etc.			

Trubačëv envisages a compound *\*nos + sr̥i* of "dogrammatičeskaja forma." While I am not sure of the status of such a form, we are clearly in a position to consider a construction of the shape *\*nəs-sr-*. This suggests a possible syntactic construction analogous to what I have discussed for the name of Demeter<sup>5</sup>. That is to say, a very old

<sup>4</sup> Because of the frequent calques in the much infiltrated Old Prussian, *noseproly* is not diagnostic in this context.

<sup>5</sup> *Minos* (n.s.) 9, 1968, 198-204; 10, 1969, 93-5.

nyntagm of the form \*genitive + noun, analogous to \**dHs-s* + *māter-*, would explain a sequence \**nH<sub>a</sub>s-s* + *sr-*. Hence *nasraĩ* = *nózdri* could easily be a genitive of 'nose' + an old noun in \**sr-*.

The identity of such a noun in \**sr-* is, however, very problematic. The following possibilities for comparison exist.

- 1.) Welsh *ffroen* (f.), Gaulish \**froгна* (> OFrench *frogne* > Eng. *frown*), OIr. *srón* (f.) 'nostril, nose' < \**srognā* or \**sroknā*<sup>6</sup>. A Celtic variant in \*(s)*tr-* may be Welsh *trwyn* (m.), OCor. *trein* < \*(s)*trognā*; Gaulish \**trugna*<sup>7</sup>.
- 2.) Breton *fri* (m.) 'nose', Cornish *frig* (f.) 'nostril' are highly ambiguous in form; all that is certain is \**sr-*<sup>8</sup>. If *fri* is from \**sreg-* (perhaps \**sregos*, an old neuter like \**tegos* > *ti* 'house')<sup>9</sup> then Corn. *frig* could reflect a hypocoristically geminated form \**sregg-*. The relation would be that of Welsh *croen* OCor. *croin* 'skin' < \**krok-no-*: Med. Corn. *crohen*, Breton *kroc'hen*, OIr. *crocenn* < \**krokk-enn-*.
- 3.) Greek ῥέγγω ῥέγκω 'snore', ῥύγχος 'pig's snout', Armenian *řngun-k'* (pl.) 'nose'; OIr. *srennim* 'snore'<sup>10</sup>. It is customary, since Hübschmann, to pair Arm. *řngunk'* (*n*-stem; instr. *řngambk'*) with ῥύγχος; but this obscure vocalism is not necessary. All other Greek forms point to \**srenggh-/k-*. Therefore, especially since we expect Greek and Armenian to go together and since ῥύγχος may on semantic grounds reasonably reflect some expressive alteration, we may equally posit for *řngun-* \**řngun-* < \**srongh-on*. We reconstruct then for Greek, Armenian and Celtic \**srenggh-*. The Galatian δροῦγγος<sup>11</sup> may represent a variant of \**srongo-* parallel to \**trugna* mentioned above.

To summarize the above, Greek, Armenian, and Celtic appear to attest for us \**sregh-*, \**srogh-n-*, and \**sre-n-gh-*. The last has the appearance of being a verb form. The Armenian \**srongh-on-* looks like a cross of this with the nominalization in nasal suffix seen in Celtic \**srognā*. We seem to have a verb 'snore', and a nominalization \*'snorter'. The Greek forms in -κ- could easily

<sup>6</sup> Wolfgang Meid, *IF* 65, 1960, 39; 267. OBret. *fron* is not aberrant; it belongs to a group of spellings with *o* for *oi*. See L. Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton*, Paris 1964, 172.

<sup>7</sup> *IF* 65, 1960, 44; 267.

<sup>8</sup> See Meid, *op.cit.* 40.

<sup>9</sup> For the phonetics see E. P. Hamp, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 16, 1956, 77ff.

<sup>10</sup> See Pokorny *IEW* 1002; Meid, *op.cit.* 39, 43.

<sup>11</sup> See Meid, *op.cit.* 266.

be back-formations from  $-\chi-$ , in which the aspirate was taken as being a derived shape belonging to the aspirated perfect. We thus arrive at a simple IE root  $*sregh-$ , and, on this and other grounds, I now abandon the explanation for OIr. *srón* etc. which I advanced in *Glotta* 38, 1960, 209-11, and which Frisk *GEW* 2.659 has rightly rejected as "willkürlich". However, I do not see the root of  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\omega$  as explicated by being called a "Schallwort" (Frisk 2.647); moreover,  $*sregh-$  could also help to account for  $\rho\acute{o}\chi\mu\acute{o}s$ ,  $\rho\acute{o}\chi\omega$  etc.

- (4.) There remain the Greek forms  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\alpha$  (pl.) and  $\rho\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ ; on the latter Frisk *GEW* 2.667-8 says as much as seems to be safe. It seems artificial and ad hoc to credit a stem  $*sr-edh-$  to a root  $*ser-$  'flow' (*IEW* 1001-2). The Greek could of course easily reflect a different initial; these words seem quite ambiguous, and Frisk's prudent account of  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , which may not even mean 'nostril', is excellent.

- (5.) Finally there is  $\rho\acute{\iota}s$   $\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{o}s$ , which Pedersen<sup>12</sup> suggested might be related to Lat. *frēnum*. In any case,  $*srēi-$   $srī-$  is an unsatisfactory and contrived reconstruction<sup>13</sup> that corresponds to nothing that we know of Indo-European structure; it is semantically and phonetically opaque, and explains nothing. At the same time I see no virtue in my own attempt, *Glotta* 38.210-11. In these circumstances, there seems to be little motivation in attempting to relate Skt. *ṣṛkvan-*, *ṣṛákva-* 'corner of the mouth', as Lewis and Pedersen and I (following them) tried. Frisk *GEW* 2.659 offers no further positive suggestions.

At present I see only one possibility for further analyzing  $\rho\acute{\iota}s$   $\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{o}s$ . I have recently<sup>14</sup> discussed Karl Hoffmann's perceptive analysis (*MSS* 6, 1955, 35-40) of the old-layer suffix which we may write  $*-Hon-$  or  $*-əon-$ . It seems possible, though not at all assured, that we have a zero-grade of this suffix generalized in position after vowel, where alternations would have led to shapes of unclear relation. Thus  $*sri-Hon-$   $\sim$   $sri-Hn-$  would have been levelled to  $*sriHn-$ . If this is so, the original base for  $\rho\acute{\iota}s$  was  $*sri-$ .

Whether then a construction  $*nH_{a-s-s}+sri-$  'nostril of the nose' once existed is a matter for speculation.

<sup>12</sup> *Ériu* 16, 1952, 5.

<sup>13</sup> *IEW* 1002.

<sup>14</sup> *MSS* 30, 1972, 35-7.

7. Mod. Ir. *gead* and Slav. *zvězda*

M. A. O'Brien suggested (*Celtica* 3. 1956, 170-1) an equation between *gead* gen. *geide*, a feminine *ā*-stem, 'blaze on an animal's forehead' and the Balto-Slavic etymon for 'star'. This is a precarious comparison, and one cannot be sure of such an isolated equation despite the semantic parallels. If true, however, it has interesting formal implications; but a few clarifying comments are required.

Pokorny IEW 495 has a root *\*ǵh₂uoiǵʷ-* to which he assigns φοῖβος, ἀφικτός 'unrein' and the Balto-Slavic set *\*žvaigzdā-*. φοῖβος certainly does not belong here. Frisk GEW 2 (1969) 1031 calls it unerklärt in the course of an excellent summary of past work on this riddle; he also meticulously notes the exact testimony, with possible accentuation, for the glossed words ἀφικτόν and ἀφικτρός. While we cannot get to the bottom of this word set, it seems to me that these privatives give us valuable assistance. If φοῖβος really began and ended in labio-velars it would be a very odd IE root; and then the κ of the privatives would not fit. A thematization of a *u*-stem might be conceivable here, such as we have in Lith. *lėngvas*, Welsh *gwlyb* (: *fliuch*), *tew* (: *ting*) etc. Taking the φ in the privatives au pied de la lettre, we have before the ι a probable reflex of a labial. A root *\*bheig-* or *\*bheig-* seems likely, with suffixation in *-u-* and *-to-* attested. This removes this Greek set both from *gead* and from Lith. *žvaigždė* Latv. *zvaigzne* OPruss. *swāigstan* Czech *hvězda* etc.

I do not agree with Pokorny's reconstruction for the Balto-Slavic words. I have proposed (XI. International Congress of Linguists, Bologna 1972) a revised reconstruction *\*g(h)uoiś-dā* for which I develop the details in that exposition; the crucial problem is of course to reconcile the Baltic and Slavic initials in a plausible way. The Baltic evidence makes the nature of the diphthongal vocalism perfectly clear, and there is no reason to believe that the Slavic *ě* does not match this exactly. Whether or not the Russian forms mentioned by O'Brien are analogies on the type *seló*, it must be by misprint or by oversight that O'Brien speaks of a Slavic *e* before *zd*. If a short vowel is involved at all, it must be *\*i* here in view of the full-grade diphthong. I have discussed the vocalism of *gnězdo* 'nest' in another connexion IJSLP 11, 1968, 25-6. It is quite possible that in the Balto-Slavic word for 'star' we have another example of a neo-guṇa grade that these languages favoured in the thematic stems.

In summary, if related *gead* must be *\*g(h)uīsdā*, Irish *gead* could then be valuable in assuring the zero-grade in this formation. The ablaut grade would thus match Lat. *forda*, Slav. *tvřūdŭ*. Since *\*gṷ* may be supposed to have fallen in with *\*gʷ*, we reconstruct *\*ǵh₂uīsdā*.



## 8. On snow in Ireland

Vendryes (*Lexique étymologique* A. 88) mentions the suggested comparison of *arg* (.i. *bainne*, unde dicitur *ro-arg* .i. *ro bannae* .i. *snige mór do fleochad*' Corm.<sup>2</sup> 27) to Welsh *eiry eira*, M. Corn *irch*, Bret. *erc'h* (to which we may add Vannetais *erh* and its dialect variants, on which see my note in *Annales de Bretagne*). The British forms must reflect a stem *\*argio-*; I have touched upon the possible equation of this with Gaulish *Argiotalus* and *Airgdech* dat. *Airgd(h)ig(h)* *\*Argio-tegos* in a discussion of *Taluppius* appearing in the *BSL* currently. Vendryes suggests that only Irish *arg* can come from *\*(s)perg-* or *\*(s)preg-*; of course, in the British sense 'snow' the base seen in ἄργός 'white, bright' is an eminent candidate. It is possible to simplify the explanation by considering these forms in a wider context.

There is no doubt that reflexes of *\*(s)perg-/ (s)preg-* and *\*H<sub>a</sub>erg-* would be capable of merging phonetically in Celtic. But there is no need to derive the observed reflexes separately from these roots. At an early period *\*arg(io)-* could have meant both 'bright' and 'snow (esp. in a mass)'. Then in Irish *\*arg-* 'snow' could have developed semantically to 'drop'. Such a development would be exactly congruent with *snigid* 'drips': Welsh *nyf* (*snechtae*), Lat. *ninguit nix*, Lith. *sniŋga*, OHG *snīwit*, Eng. *snow* etc. In other words, the semantic-feature development '(to) snow' > '(to) drip' would be perfectly regular for Irish; it applied equally to both available lexemes. The difference between these two lexemes in Celtic seems to be that *\*snig<sup>wh</sup>-* was essentially verbal, while *\*arg(io)-* was nominal; thus Early Welsh says *Ottid eiry*.<sup>1</sup> Of course, derivations of these bases could be formed e.g. Bret. *erc'hi*.

Benveniste has dealt (Μνήμη Χάριν Ι, 1956, 35-9) with the two Indo-European bases for 'snow'; it is not my intention to formulate or accept a full view of the matter here, but I suspect that there are more semantic and syntactic features involved than Benveniste implied. In any case, in Celtic, as in Latin, the base *\*ghi(e)m-* has become early specialized in the sense 'winter': OIr. *gaim*(red), Welsh *gaeaf*, Breton *goañ(v)*, Vannetais *goniañ*. Thus we may say that in Celtic *\*arg(io)-* has replaced *\*ghi(e)m-* in the nominal value 'snow'.

When one recalls the relatively mild and snow-free climate of Ireland and the impression this might have on speakers of Celtic coming from more continental winters that were typical for many earlier Celtic and Indo-European speakers, it is not hard to see how a

<sup>1</sup> A locution reminiscent of the widespread Balkan idiom: Serbo-Croatian *pada kiša* lit. 'rain falls', Albanian *bie shi* 'do.', *bie borë* 'snow falls' (etymologically 'falls a falling'), seen as a calque in Romanian *zăpadă* 'snow'.

systematic semantic change 'snow' > 'drip' might take place. Similar changes based on differing climatic conditions may also be envisaged in Indic; Edwin Gerow and I, in companion articles in the *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, have recently dealt with the problem of 'frost' in particular and inter alia as it involves the Indic attestation.<sup>2</sup> In this way we may see Celtic and Indic at times innovating in common, while in other remarkable instances we have learnt to see especially through the work of the late Myles Dillon and of Dan Binyon these two share in conserving archaisms.

### 9. asse

WHAT is the earlier shape and ancestry of *asse*? *Ní hannse*. Vendryes (*Lexique étymologique* A-96) properly rejects *\*ad-sewyo-* and *\*pat-tio-*, and shows prudent diffidence in mentioning *\*ad-sta-yo-*. It seems clear that on principle we should favour relating Welsh *awdd* if that is at all possible.

We must first note the important irregular (i.e. non-productive) comparative *haws*. This must involve a suffix *\*-s(o)-*, which I discuss in some detail elsewhere. Therefore if *hawdd* is *\*sād-*, the comparative *aws* is *\*sād-so-*; according to my view the latter is a thematic adjectival derivative of an intensive (abstract) nominal formation in *\*(e)s-*. Hence it is reasonable to expect, particularly in a compound adjective formation, a derivative in *\*-io-*; cf. Lat. *caldi-crebr-ius*, and neuters such as ἐν-ύπν-ιον, εὐ-αγγέλ-ιον, τρι-πόδ-ιον, προ-σκήν-ιον, *rō-uerb-ium*, *tri-noct-ium*.

Semantically, if we envision our formation as containing an intensive prefix, or first element, we are then not surprised to find the derivation based on an intensive stem in *\*(e)s-*. In fact, the intensive prefix may be viewed as reinforcing or renewing the fading value of the older suffix, particularly as the latter fuses phonetically with the final dental of the root.

I therefore reconstruct *\*ad-sād-s-io-* 'very-eas-y'; for the prefix cf. *ad-amrae* 'wonderful', Gaul. *Admarus*, *Admata*, and the documentation of D. Ellis Evans GPN 128-31. Such a string gave by rule *assässjo-*, which with syncope becomes *ass(ss)(a)e*.

We must now explain the negative *annse*. If we start from a simple privative of the above, *\*an-ad-sād-s-io-* gives us *\*anassässjo-* > *\*anāsasse*; clearly too many syllables, and unacceptable. But we must remember that we have posited *\*ad-* as an intensive; it scarcely makes sense to form a privative by negating an intensive, and our

<sup>2</sup> It is also noteworthy that Indic preserves relatively few of the old IE tree names; cf. Paul Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, Chicago 1970, esp. 162-4, and my view in the *American Anthropologist* 1973.

morphology will now bear this out. In addition to the argument offered above, the forms cited by Marstrand (Lochlann 2, 1962, 224) with *air-* (*air-ussa*, *aur-ussa* > *furās(da)*) and with *ro-* (*roirussa*) show a renewal of the intensive as the *\*ad-* in turn had faded. We thus have ample evidence for the intensive *\*ad-*, and the advantage of a strong continuity in the semantics though the morphology has shifted its center of gravity through time.

Hence the privative must have been *\*n-sād-s-io-*, which should have given *\*éss(ss)e*. The last was then replaced by the more productive formations *anse* and *ins(a)e*. This latter is noted by Thurneysen (GOI § 872d) as isolated; by the formulation suggested we may now understand this fluctuation.

### 10. timme

The account of *tee téit* < *\*te(p)ents te(p)entes* and Welsh *twym* Med. Bret. *toem* Vannetais *tuem* < *\*tēm̃m* < *\*teemmo-* < *\*te(p)esmo-* is well known. Such an accounting is surely correct in all important respects, with the proviso that on grounds of IE rules of participial formation the gen.sg. of *tee* might have been *\*te(p)ntos* and so on for the weak cases.

Lewis and Pedersen 27 § 30 reconstruct *timme* as *\*tepesmijā*, with “*\*epe* before a non-final syllable.” Such a solution is phonetically somewhat unnatural in the face of other facts of Irish and of Celtic, and not at all necessary.

Instead I propose *\*tepsmiā* = *teksmiā* [*texsmiā*] > *\*te(s)smiā* > *\*temmiā*, with a development exactly like that seen in *céimm*. In such a cluster Lewis and Pedersen (6 § 8.2c) regard the old *\*k* as simply lost here, while Jackson (LHEB 535 fn.1) assumes that it first doubled, or lengthened, the sibilant. We therefore have an abstract built upon an adjective in *\*-m(o)-*, formed from the stem *\*teps-*.

Celtic seems to have preserved a significant number of *s-stems* in zero-grade formation: *\*teps-* now joins Bret. *lec’h* < *\*leg̃h-s-* and others that I have argued elsewhere.

### 11. anbal

Thurneysen (GOI 543 § 870) notes with customary exactitude that stem-initial *f-* after privative *an-* should give *anb-*, but that written “*b* appears for the most part only in syllabic auslaut.” Thus *ainb* ‘ignorant’ etc. “The later attested form *anbal* ‘shameless’ to *fíal* ‘modest’, is regular. In general, however, *f* is written.” The situation is, however, even more regular than Thurneysen represents it



1. We must remember that *anbal* was matched by a derived noun *ainble* (fem.). The latter of course conforms to the configuration defined by Thurneysen's rule for writing *b*.

2. The *b* of *anbal* might even have been buttressed by the resemblance to *mebul* coupled with the surface ambiguity in derivation *ainble*; for *ainble* could be derived by rule, at least in later Old Irish, either from *fial* or from *mebul*. That is, underlying *an<sup>h</sup>-mebl-iā* *an<sup>h</sup>βeβliā* → (with syncope) *an<sup>h</sup>βl'e* → *anβl'e*, with degemination and nasal reassignment.<sup>1</sup>

3. It is clear that for a long time at least some speakers recognized the derivational relation of *ainble* to *fial* and secondarily to *féile*. Thus we find *as ainble .i. is ainbfial no as latrandta* O'C 1908 (23.3, 23 (21)<sup>d</sup>); *ainbhle .i. ainféile no olcas* O'Cl; *fogni feile do anble* D 2208; on these see s.v. *ainble* Contribb. (1964) 134-5. Yet increasingly the less opaque *ainfial anbfial*, representing a fresh compounding (see s.v. Contribb., 1964, 146), would have come to be the obvious negative of *fial*. Thus in proportion as *anbal* ceased to be the dominant simple negative of *fial*, and was free to take on other colourings of meaning, it became more likely that the *β* would be written in surface phonetics as *b* rather than with an underlying graph.

4. We must reckon continuously with the growth of morphological variation in this situation. Therefore *anfír* may early have become what we see in *cech anfíir* 7 *cech indliged* PH 4123 or *tria brichtu ainble anfír* (:ríg gs.) SR 3850 ≠ *gan ainbhíor gan anoircheas* Keat. 575. Forms such as *ainfis ainbhis ainmfis*<sup>1</sup> (ZCP x 223.17) = *ainfhios* IT ii<sup>2</sup> 111.41) and *ainbféth* 'foolish' would have been protected and tended to be conserved by their surface relation to *ab*. Thus beside *ainbhíal* 'shame, scandal' *Anecd.* i 19.3, *anbfial* 'nameless' *Aisl. Tund.* 105 § 1, we have *anfhéil* PH 3930; and beside *ainbhféil* is *féil* 'the ungenerous and the generous' *Aithd.D.* 1.5 we have *ainfhial* 'ungenerous' *Magauran* 3799. Alongside the relation from O'Clery reproduced above we may set *do Bhrian r fhoghluim ainbhle* (.i. *amhndaire, ainfhéile no olcas* *Hard.* ii 290.2. The underlying rules for the writing of stem-initial *f-* (or *w*) after privative *an-* are therefore perfectly regular and orderly. There are simply several intersecting situations which tend to obscure the result that meets our view or happens to get attested.

See in particular *Ériu* 21, 1969, 88, where the verb in question would be a synchronic parallel, and *mebair* would be a historical parallel of even more similar sequential contraction. We may add to these another case involving *β < w* after *an-*: *ní hainmes* 275<sup>a</sup> 12; *cíd ainmeas fort-sa-sin* *Grail* 365; see *ainfes* Contribb. (1964) 145.



## 12. Copula of Possession

There seems to be a further example that may be added to those collected by Rolf Baumgarten, *Ériu* 23, 1972, 237-8. This occurs in a rhetoric, which therefore makes it potentially archaic in *Serglige Con Culainn* § 19: *Nítan bí nach n-uall*. Apart from the fact that *nach* seems here to nasalize, as though a neuter or an unexpected accusative, we seem to have here an odd instance of a 1<sup>st</sup> person infixed pronoun with the substantive verb. That of itself would of course cause no surprise, but the shape of the infix is unexpected. This makes one wonder whether there was not underlying the attested sequence an earlier version, no longer properly understood with the negative copula followed by infixed pronoun. The conventional verb form would then have been added later as if to justify the construction.

One wonders further whether the sequence *Ní . . . dam* in the surrounding clauses of this passage is not a transformation of an earlier *Ní-m . . .*

13. *dlúth*

O'Brien's identification of this short-vowel variant of *dlúth* is now incorporated in *Contribb.* (1959) *de-do-* 168. His suggestion that *dlúth* was extracted from final instances in compounds is not a happy one. Such shortenings were legion in early Irish, and on theoretical grounds we might look rather for the extension of the more "underlying" form.

The short-vowel instances look more like the result of contamination. It is a familiar hypothesis in the study of language change to see the source of a change in an antonym or semantic opposite; both Lat. *mortuus* and Slav. *mrŭtvŭj* are presumed to reflect reshaping on the models of *uīuos* and *živŭj*. It is reasonable then to look for the source of contamination for *dlúth* 'compact dense,' in the vocalism of *dluige* 'splitting, cleaving, sundering, dispersing' (: *dlongid*). In fact we read: *in talam dluith do indluch* Ml. 129<sup>d8</sup> (*indlach* : *in-dloine*). The alliterative initial of course reinforced the shared semantic feature [ $\pm$  divide].

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